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# Near East/South Asia Report

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31 May 1985

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ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

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TOURIST BOOKLET BANNED FOR CONTAINING ARMENIAN PROPAGANDA

Istanbul MARMARA in Armenian 15 Apr 85 pp 1,4

[Text] Orders given by the Command of the State of Siege in Istanbul have banned the sale and distribution of the tourist booklet "Istanbul." The booklet has been in circulation for some time now and has been given to foreign tourists visiting our city for the purpose of acquainting them with its history and natural beauty.

This beautiful volume, which has approximately 200 pages, was prepared by the American writer Calin Taberni. However, it contains many harmful passages, inaccurate statements and anti-Turkish assertions. The volume is meant to make known the big and important cities of the world but it says such absurd things about Istanbul and Turkey that at times one is revolted at the preposterous statements which are direct and downright allegations intended to hurt Turkey and the Turkish people.

This book devotes a large section to assertions of the Armenian Genocide, and the Turks are accused of being murderers. "One million Armenians were massacred by the Turks in 1915" states this volume supposedly written to acquaint Istanbul and the Turks to foreigners. There is not a single Turk among its contributors, but the tourist agencies have been distributing them for some time now to their clients without realizing this fact. But now that they have come to learn of its negative content, they call it a real disgrace and are deeply revolted by this act of intent and by the malice of its authors. Writing about Istanbul, the author of the volume uses the expression "a cosmopolitan city constantly plagued by trouble," adding that in early times, the Ottoman Empire adopted a traditional policy of tolerance towards the minorities but that later on this was changed. Towards the end of the volume, the author makes absurd statements and giving way to Armenian assertions and allegations, writes that in the years 1894-1896 Abdul Hamid provoked the death of 7,000 Armenians in Istanbul, while "in 1915, close to one million Armenians were massacred in the Eastern Provinces."

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ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

TURKS REACT TO ERECTION OF GENOCIDE MONUMENT IN PARIS

Istanbul MARMARA in Armenian 4 Apr 85 p 1

[Text] There are reports that preparations are taking place in Paris to erect a new Armenian monument. The Municipality has already allocated an appropriate site for this purpose in the region of new residential centers close to the Place de la Défense, near the famous Champs Élysées boulevard in the French capital. The work of erecting the monument is progressing quite rapidly.

After the erection of an Armenian Monument in Marseille in 1973, the Armenians in France were planning to place a similar monument in a Parisian suburb and had taken the necessary steps in this direction. In 1982, an Armenian Society had managed to have a piece of land allotted to this end and had partly assured the sums necessary to cover the secondary expenses. The plans have been ready for a long time. The Mayor of Paris Jacques Chirac, one-time Prime Minister and a de Gaullist, is also the leader of the right-wing opposition. When news relative to the erection of this new Armenian Monument became known, the Turkish Ambassador in Paris, Adnan Bulak decided to act and addressing the French Government, informed it officially of Turkey's concern over this matter. Responsible persons in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs stated that the erection of an Armenian Monument could damage Franco-Turkish relations. It is still not known what the monument will look like, when it will be built and when its inauguration will take place.

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EGYPT

#### HANDLING OF GOVERNMENT CORRUPTION CASES CRITICIZED

Cairo AL-AHALI in Arabic 10 Apr 85 p 5

[Article by Justice Salah 'Abd-al-Majid: "The Question That No One Has Answered Yet: Why Is a Pickpocket Who Steals from Passengers on a Bus Tried in Criminal Court While a Thief Who Steals Public Funds Is Tried in a Political Court?"]

[Text] There is a section in the penal code known as the Economic Penal Code. Whereas the penal code in the general sense protects society's and the state's social interests, the Economic Penal Code is the law that penalizes those who infringe upon the state's public economic system. That system is regulated by Articles 23 through 39 of the Constitution, chapter eight, section two, entitled "Economic Fundamentals."

These articles stipulate that the national economy is to be regulated according to a comprehensive development plan that would ensure that the nation's revenues are increased and equitably distributed, that the standard of living is raised, unemployment eliminated, employment opportunities increased, wages tied to production, a minimum wage guaranteed and a maximum wage that would narrow the differences in people's incomes set.

These articles also stipulate that it is the people who control all the means of production and who direct surplus production in accordance with the development plan set by the state. Article 32 of the constitution stipulates that private ownership is manifested in unutilized capital whose social function is regulated by the state to serve the nation's economy unswervingly and without corruption in the context of the development plan. The ways in which capital is utilized may not conflict with the people's public welfare.

Acting on the basis of the constitution to consolidate its principles, economic laws that regard violating constitutional principles criminal conduct were issued to protect the people and to implement the constitution's economic precepts. The so-called Economic Penal Code, which was the product of that action, includes those laws that have to do with food supplies, currency control, mandatory fixed prices, setting profits and other regulations.

Economic crimes are serious crimes. This statement is based on the premise that economic crimes affect a state's economy and the interests and liberty of the people. It is an accepted fact that the connection between a state's economic

system and its political freedom is a close one. It is also an accepted fact that whether or not a state has economic ties to other countries determines its political activity. Also a state's economic independence or the lack of such independence changes its policy among the countries of the world.

#### Exclamation Marks!

The question that no one has answered yet is this:

Why are important people who are defendants in economic crimes tried in political courts only? Why are they tried in the Ethics Court? Why are they not tried in ordinary courts for the crimes they committed? According to their definition in the Economic Penal Code, these crimes are heinous crimes. Why does the state do this?

We recently saw Tawfiq 'Abd-al-Hayy, 'Ismat al-Sadat and currency merchants brought to trial in the Ethics court. We saw that the courts, acting within their jurisdiction, sentenced them by putting their property under sequestration. However, this happened after those defendants had smuggled most of their property abroad, leaving only very little of it. This small amount is soon depleted by the living allowance set for them by the courts.

Why does the state, represented by its policemen, spring into action to deal with what it thinks are crimes, holding press conferences at which the minister of interior speaks, whereas when other crimes that affect the state's economy are committed, nothing is said? Nothing provides more evidence of that than the fact that the state recently used intense force to protect Israel's wing at the fair. When young people jeered Israel, security men interfered and began beating them, breaking their heads and their bones. But when currency dealers wreaked havoc in the marketplace--and they still are--security men did nothing, and the state's law enforcement and torture agents did nothing.

At the press conference that the Ethics Court held after sentence was pronounced in the case of currency merchants, the court said that the first defendant's currency business had been a large scale business. The court said that his activities included numerous state organizations and institutions to which he sold the foreign currency he acquired. Like a bee he would go around some of the banks, especially al-Ahram Bank and Jamal Trust Bank, gathering what he could and giving employees at those institutions lavish gifts. In addition, when he, the expert that he is, was engaged in this feverish activity, he undoubtedly knew that his conduct and his actions would hurt society's economic interests. He undoubtedly knew that society would be hurt by high prices which result from speculating on the rate of exchange. Money has wiped out all feelings in his heart and conscience, and he no longer thinks of anyone but himself. He has not paid the taxes he owes, which amount to 8 million pounds.

When the court spoke about al-Ahram Bank, it said this:

"The fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh defendants make up the group of friends for whom this bank was an instrument they used to reach their objectives. As soon as they met Sami 'Ali Hasan, they realized that they found what they had been looking for. They gave him a line of credit that amounted to 12 million pounds so he could continue his activities, buying and selling currency. They

were thus overlooking a bank's most important purpose and primary mission, which is to finance investment projects and implement the state's economic plan. They traded benefits with him: giving him credit in exchange for grants and gifts.

All the reasons for the court's sentence have not been published yet, but aren't all these actions, which the court dealt with perfunctorily, heinous crimes as these are defined in the penal code: both the general penal code and the Economic Penal Code?

Why hasn't the authority of the penal code been applied to these crimes? Why were these crimes kept out of its jurisdiction? Why was it that only the socialist prosecutor and the Ethics Court were involved in these cases?

Why wasn't the public prosecutor informed of these crimes? Security personnel say that picking the pocket of a passenger on a bus is a serious crime that upsets public security. Shouldn't the theft of public funds, the funds of poor people, deprived people and toiling people who pay taxes directly and indirectly be considered a serious crime for which the state should take action? And shouldn't the state impose the harshest penalties on the perpetrators of such a crime?

Why is it enough to have political trials for those people? What is that power which is protecting them and keeping them out of prisons and jails? What's the use of having an emergency law when it is not being used to protect the people's property and the economic elements of their property? Why do we have an emergency law if it is not being used to protect the development plan and alleviate the people's suffering? Why aren't those people subjected to a criminal investigation, and why aren't they tried by the criminal courts so they can be punished for what they did? Why is it that small bribery cases or cases involving the embezzlement of small amounts of money are tried in criminal court while millions in public funds are allowed to go as gifts and grants to financiers and businessmen? Why is it that in such serious crimes political trials are enough? Is there a purpose? Is there an objective? Or is this done perhaps for certain persons only who may set an example for others?

Why, gentlemen, why? Please answer; the people want to know!

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EGYPT

ARRIVAL OF TRUE DEMOCRACY, EQUALITY HAILED

Cairo MAYU in Arabic 22 Apr 85 p 2

[Article by Nabil Abazah: "The Right Tune"]

[Text] I feel good and reassured when I read a newspaper article attacking the government or one of the ministers or criticizing them harshly.

The meaning of such attacks or criticisms is that we are living now under a true democracy. It means that the press is free; that it receives no orders from officials; and that it fears no one. It means that everyone is equal in the eyes of the law: there is no difference between an official and any ordinary citizen. If a minister is subjected to a biased attack or if a false report about him is published, all he has to do is respond to the false report and publish the truth.

This week an opposition newspaper published a report which stated [the following]:

The socialist public prosecutor has summoned Dr 'Abd-al-Hamid Hasan, the governor of al-Jizah, after a report submitted by Muhammad 'Ali Mujahid accused Ashraf, the son of Safwat al-Sharif, the minister of information, of forcing his way into an apartment located in building number 17 on al-Tabqajli Street. The report accused Ashraf of seizing the apartment under the pretext of having a lease. The report stated that 'Uthman al-Qadi, chief of north al-Jizah summoned Mr Mujahid to his office and asked him to go to the office of Dr 'Abd-al-Hamid Hasan, the governor of al-Jizah. There, Mr Mujahid found Safwat al-Sharif who asked him about an apartment for his son. It was agreed that the minister of information would pay 8,000 pounds key money for the apartment. That was 8 months ago. Therefore, the socialist prosecutor's office summoned the governor of al-Jizah to find out from him the story of the key money that the minister paid in front of the governor!

After reading this extraordinary report, I could neither sit still nor ignore it. I wanted to find out what the true story was, especially since the writer had implicated people we respect.

First, I contacted 'Abd-al-Hamid Hasan, the governor of al-Jizah. I was surprised when he denied the report that he had gone to the socialist prosecutor's

office or that he had been summoned to go there. He also denied that the minister of information had come to his office and met the barber, Muhammad 'Ali Mujahid, who owns the building where Ashraf Safwat had leased an apartment.

The governor added, "Would it make sense for me to be involved in negotiations between a landlord and a tenant over the payment of key money when I know that payment of key money is prohibited by law?"

Then I contacted Judge 'Abd-al-Qadir Ahmad 'Ali, the socialist public prosecutor, and I asked him about the report that he had summoned the governor of al-Jizah to his office. But he denied the report, and he assured me that he had not received any report from Muhammad 'Ali Mujahid and that he had not conducted any investigation into that matter. Accordingly, he did not summon the governor of al-Jizah to the offices of the socialist prosecutor.

Judge 'Abd-al-Qadir Ahmad then added, "As far as the barber, Muhammad 'Ali Mujahid is concerned, he received large sums of money from citizens for apartments that he leased to more than one tenant. Our office has imposed restraining measures on him and is conducting an investigation with him after a large number of citizens filed complaints against him."

Finally, I had to ask Minister Safwat al-Sharif about the incident which alleges that he paid key money to lease an apartment from Muhammad 'Ali Mujahid for his son, Ashraf. The minister assured me that he had never met the owner of the building and that he had not been involved when his son, Ashraf, leased the apartment. He said that his son, Ashraf, was a self-supporting man who was a university graduate and married and did not use his father's name or position in doing any kind of business.

The only thing we can say to comment on this contrived story is to thank God that ministers are now ordinary citizens. Their children pay key money when they want to lease apartments. Those days when ministers used to get the most luxurious villas and apartments in the best neighborhoods from sequestration authorities and insurance companies for nominal rents are gone forever.

Thank God that a minister is now like any citizen. Thank God that those days when ministers, their proteges and relatives were above the law, above convention and above everyone are gone forever.

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EGYPT

SUIT BROUGHT FOR RETURN OF SHAYKH KISHK

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 16 Apr 85 p 1

[Article: "Suit Brought by Labor, Grouping and Liberal Parties Asking for Return of Shaykh Kishk to His Mosque"]

[Text] The Labor, Grouping and Liberal parties, together with citizen, 'Abd-al-Karim 'Abd-al-'Azim 'Abd-al-Karim, have jointly filed a law suit in the Council of State's administrative court against the president, the prime minister, the minister of religious trusts and the governor of Cairo asking the court to issue a decree allowing al-Shaykh Kishk to resume his activities. The plaintiffs in this law suit are also asking the court to suspend the decree that was issued on September 5, 1981 barring al-Shaykh Kishk from pursuing his activities at 'Ayn al-Hayah Mosque (formerly al-Malik [king] Mosque). Al-Shaykh Kishk had been preaching in that mosque for over 10 years, and he was barred from doing so for reasons that are purely political.

The petition that was filed in this law suit indicated that warnings were sent last March to those officials asking them to issue that decree. Then a deadline was set for them to carry it out, but none of them took any step to resolve the problem.

The petition also mentioned the mission that mosques and their imams have had to fulfill throughout the history of Islam. The petition also talked about the dangers of interfering with that mission.

The petition indicated that Article 46 of the Egyptian Constitution stipulates that "the state guarantees freedom of religion and the freedom to carry out religious rites."

The petition also indicated that Article 47 of the constitution stipulates that "Freedom of opinion is guaranteed. Each person may express his opinion freely, and he may do so verbally, in writing, by means of pictures or other methods of expression within the limits of the law. Constructive self-criticism ensures the safety of actions taken to build the country."

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EGYPT

AGRICULTURE MINISTER YUSUF WALI INTERVIEWED

Cairo AKHIR SA'AH in Arabic 27 Mar 85 pp 10, 11

[Interview with Yusuf Wali, minister of agriculture, by Suhayr al-Husayni: "The Parties Are Still in a State of Laxity Following the Elections; Party Competition Comes Before the National Interest, As Far As the Opposition is Concerned! There Is No Conflict Between a Political Post and an Executive Post; Both Complement Each Other; The Broad Base of Voters Is Still Outside Cairo"; date and place not specified]

[Text] Combining the posts of minister of agriculture and of National Democratic Party [NDP] assistant secretary general tends to enrich both jobs. Therefore, no conflict exists between the two posts. I even consider both as going together, each one completing the other at the political and executive levels. This fact has been emphasized by Dr Yusuf Wali, with whom the dialogue contained in this article centers on his political role as NDP assistant secretary general, to the exclusion of his executive role as minister of agriculture.

He said: "When I visit the agricultural sectors, I, at the same time, listen to the citizens speaking of their problems. I compile these problems and submit them to the competent ministers to find appropriate solutions, especially in the rural areas that are still have pressing need of resolving their problems. In his interview, he emphasized that the faces seen within the party organizations are not traditional ones. The supreme political leadership has shown great dedication to the presence of people who have so far proved their ability to move, to give of themselves and to participate positively in finding suitable solutions."

In his dialogue with AKHIR SA'AH, Yusuf Wali affirmed that the NDP has realized a large number of the promises to which it had committed itself during the last election campaign and that the NDP 5-year plan proceeds within a sound framework. He said: "All the parties in Egypt are patriotic. We only differ in the method of work and application. We are a party of the center; our party is a rational and moderate one. Meanwhile, we find the other parties pursuing hot-headed solutions, which are distant from reality and which cannot now be implemented in view of present circumstances."

The NDP assistant secretary general said: "We develop ourselves. However, most of the other parties are still in a state of laxity. Most of their personalities remain unchanged and without any radical change having been made among them. In accordance with the experiment of weekly meetings, under the coming plan we will receive ordinary party members to listen to what they have to say and to their viewpoints. This experiment also engulfs the remaining governorates. Hence, our moves will be general and comprehensive, and they will be made at the level of the republic." He emphasized that the party has set forth a new plan for youth: "We have begun setting up an organization which will include young people in the agricultural and veterinary areas at the level of the villages. We will allot some of the new lands to youth, and we will provide them with full resources, so that they can cultivate the land and live on it."

At the outset of the meeting with Dr Yusuf Wali, minister of agriculture and food security, I said: "There is a question which frequently arises in the minds of many people at this time. How can you combine two responsibilities of great enormity and importance, while both need to take full time. There is your executive post as minister of agriculture and food security at a time when the country suffers from a food crisis, and when the country maps out plans to invade the desert and double the cultivable areas. Then there is your political post as NDP assistant secretary, member of the Secretariat and member of the NDP Political Bureau, also at a time when the NEP's responsibility before the masses has doubled, following its victory in the latest elections."

Dr Yusuf Wali said: From the premise of reality, I believe that these two political and executive posts complement each other and that there is absolutely no conflict between them--absolutely not! Why? After the election system in Egypt becomes one of electoral lists, and following the latest experiment of the People's Assembly elections, it has become clear that the main center of gravity in any upcoming election, be it for the People's Assembly, for the Consultative Council or for the local councils, will be in the governorates and in the countryside in general, not only in Cairo and Alexandria. With all due respect for public opinion in the capital, because it is indeed a conscious, mature and educated public opinion, it is, however, not a positive one in the sense that the ratio of voter turnout in Cairo and Alexandria was very low.

Therefore, it has become imperative for any party to consolidate its position in the countryside by resolving the problems of the citizens there. This is cordial work for me in my capacity as minister of agriculture. Therefore, in view of his post, a minister of agriculture enjoys popularity, especially in the countryside and the governorates. Popularity here goes to the post, not to the person of the minister. Notwithstanding his personality, anyone appointed to the post of minister of agriculture enjoys attention love and popularity in the

countryside, especially if he masters his role in listening to complaints and to the citizens' problems and in trying to resolve these problems and to give everyone his due, while doing his job well. Therefore, we find out that the two posts complement each other and that there is no conflict between them. The post of assistant secretary general of the party strengthens the position of agriculture minister. At the same time, it is possible for the post of minister of agriculture to endow party action with strength, especially, as I have said, if the minister perfects his role. This fact and this result will attract for the party the votes of the broad masses of voters present in the governorates and the countryside.

[Question] But do you find enough time to combine these two posts in a perfect manner, which gives the party its weight in the governorates?

[Answer] I work full time on this job.

Through all the field visits that I make to the governorates--and these are made at least twice a week--I perform my role as minister of agriculture and then as a party man. The masses there complain from problems which indeed exist, especially in the agricultural sector. When I work to solve these issues, I fulfill two objectives: serving the agricultural sector in its entirety and serving the citizens. The citizens' problems are ultimately the issues of society. But perhaps what has been added to me, owing to my position in the NDP, is to hear about the problems of citizens from sectors other than the agricultural sector. In this instance, I try to compile these complaints, and then I deliver them by hand to the brother ministers in charge of the other sectors. Even more, since assuming my political post in the party, I believe that I have not issued any circular in the party's name. I exercise care in handing statements containing the masses' demands to the officials concerned. For example, while I was yesterday on a field visit to Qina Governorate, I met with a group of pharmacists there. They explained to me their problem with the Ministry of Finance. They want the taxes they pay calculated on the basis of their imports from the source. They clarified their viewpoint on this issue, and I will convey their complaints to Brother Salah Hamid, the minister of finance, so that he will try to resolve this issue.

#### How Selection Is Made

[Question] What is your conception of your role as a member of the NDP Political Bureau, and how do you view the relationship existing between this role and your role as party assistant secretary? What is the wisdom of your combining the two posts?

[Answer] Posts in Egypt, whether political or ministerial posts, are assigned by selection. This selection is made by the supreme political

leadership, and it is incumbent upon the person who is selected to perform his role to the best of his ability to assure the leadership that he has lived up to its good opinion about him.

With regard to the post of NDP assistant secretary general, the members of the General Secretariat meet at least twice a week. The General Secretariat consists of the following six members: Brother Safwlt al-Sharif, Brother Kamal al-Shadhili, Dr Hilmi al-Hadidi and Dr Ahmad Salama and they meet under the chairmanship of Dr Subhi 'Abd-al-Hakim. At these meetings, a study is conducted on all NDP activities and moves at the level of the republic through the information that we receive from party committees in the governorates. Furthermore, we study the problems hindering work in the governorates and the ways to address them, while taking the measures needed to avert such issues in the future. We also follow the activities of the various secretariats, such as the youth secretariat, the women's secretariat and others.

In addition, the 16 NDP committees are divided between Dr Hilmi al-Hadid and me, since each one of us oversees 6 committees, while Dr Subhi 'Abd al-Hakim oversees 4 committees. Therefore, so far as I am concerned, it becomes my basic task to be present at all the meetings of the committees that I oversee, to wit: the Agriculture and Irrigation Committee, the Industry and Energy Committee, the Housing Committee, the Supply and Trade Committee, the Economic and Financial Committee and the Popular Development Committee. In my capacity as party assistant secretary, I am responsible for coordinating among these committees and their meetings and for registering these meetings, which are submitted to Brother Kamal al-Shadhili, party secretary general for organization, so that, in his turn, he submits them to the political leadership and the ministers concerned.

[Question] Which is the research, or which are the studies, now preoccupying the Office of the General Secretariat?

[Answer] We are now busily engaged in the studies which have been conducted on the issue of subsidies and which have been sent to me by Dr Subhi 'Abd-al-Hakim, the secretary general, and I have formed a working group of about 20 specialists. These studies will soon be submitted to all the committees which I have mentioned, in addition to the Office for Education and Health and Transport and Communications, in the presence of Dr Subhi 'Abd-al-Hakim and of the ministers whose ministries are directly connected with the issue of subsidies.

#### Nontraditional Face

[Question] This question concerns your work as NDP assistant secretary general. Now, which role do you play as member of the NDP Political Bureau? Is this role different from the one you now perform at the General Secretariat?

[Answer] The NDP Political Bureau is regarded as the highest authority in the party. It formulates plans for all the organizations of the party, and it then follows the work of all the party's formations. This Political Bureau convenes only at the personal invitation of the president of the party, President Husni Mubarak.

It is known that there are specific criteria for choosing members of the NDP Political Bureau, since the bureau includes in its membership experienced political veterans as well as efficient economists and administrators. Furthermore, care is exercised, when choosing Political Bureau members, to include new faces to instill hope in the new fronts emerging in the country. Therefore, the party's Political Bureau blends together known traditional figures and new, nontraditional ones. The presence of both fronts is necessary, and this presence is self-complementary. It is also necessary for insuring continuity for the coming generations.

[Question] Therefore, work in the General Secretariat complements work in the Political Bureau?

[Answer] No. These are interconnected links. I am in the Political Bureau, in the General Secretariat and in the Office of the Secretariat. I am also an assistant secretary general, and all these positions are interconnected.

[Question] You have classified the members of the Political Bureau, which is regarded as the highest NDP authority, as members with economic, administrative or political experience and then as traditional and other nontraditional figures. Where do you fit in this classification?

[Answer] I am a new, nontraditional face--definitely--and I believe that this is one of the positive characteristics of President Husni Mubarak. He has faced nontraditional problems: in resolving these issues, he sought help from nontraditional figures, so that these figures would be consistent with the nature of the issues being addressed. This is in addition to the fact that after having won the recent elections, the NDP needed new momentum and new blood. Therefore, catapulting new, nontraditional personnel into the NDP posts of leadership became a necessity.

It is not to be assumed that solutions proposed by new members are always the best and correct solutions. However, we suggest solutions. If they prove good and appropriate for the nature of the problem, and if it is possible to achieve them, they are endorsed and implemented immediately. Should these proposed solutions be unrealistic and difficult to implement, they are discarded completely.

## All Parties Are Patriotic

[Question] In your opinion, is it not possible for a relationship to exist between the NDP and the other parties? And is it better that this should be a balanced or well-ordered relationship?

[Answer] There can be no doubt that there is a complementary relationship of continuing dialogue between the NDP and the various other parties. I have always said that all the present parties are patriotic parties, whose objective is to achieve the public good. However, the angle of vision might differ from one party to another. For instance, the views of the Democratic Liberal Party might differ from those held by the Labor Party, the National Grouping Party and the Wafd Party.

I was one of the first people who held a dialogue with the opposition parties, and a dialogue continues between us. Therefore, I say that there is no major contradiction among the Labor, the Grouping and the Democratic Liberal parties. All these parties had appeared on the political scene in conjunction with the July revolution. However, Wafd Party is the only one whose roots extend to the pre-July revolution era. Nevertheless, this party has developed by itself. In its latest election platform, the Wafd Party approved all six charters of the July revolution. Therefore, it is an old, but developed, party. Consequently, we can say that all parties now work within the same framework and in accordance with the outlines of the program of the July revolution. If there is any difference among the parties, it resides in the method of work and application. For example, we find that the application of theories in the NDP is a middle-course one and that it is moderate, reasonable and trained. Meanwhile, we find that the opposition parties tend to pursue hot solutions, which circumstances might not permit at this time or for which there might not now be good opportunities.

[Question] Perhaps this is because the opposition parties are not in power and because they are out of touch with the actual situation and with the available potential. What is your opinion?

[Answer] They live far from executive policymaking. Otherwise, they would have said things more realistic and more reasonable than the things which are now being reiterated, and these things would have even been within the limits of the resources actually available to the country.

[Question] How do you view the opposition's practicing of its party role? What do you tell them, especially now that you are a personality that is acceptable to them?

## Parties in Lax State

[Answer] All the parties, including the NDP, suffer from the state of laxity, which followed the recent People's Assembly elections and which has lasted up to this time. President Husni Mubarak realized this state of affairs. Therefore, last December, he came out with the NDP new organizations--which has rejuvenated the party's movement and activity.

So far as the remaining parties are concerned, I believe that they have not developed. When they held internal elections, the same faces were brought back, and in the same old way. This is why they are still in a state of laxity. Therefore, there is a good opportunity for the NDP to gain ground and to strengthen its foothold, especially in the locations of groups in the governorates and the countryside, by trying to achieve solutions for the problems of their residents. In my opinion, the issues of the Egyptian countryside are simple ones, and they are similar to each other. It is possible to resolve them easily. For example, today I held discussion with the brother minister of housing, Muhsin Sidqi, after I had concluded through my field visits to the various governorates that the drinking water problem is one of the general problems from which the countryside suffers. If he is able to bring pure 100-liter drinking water units to every area, we will be able to resolve the water problem. Furthermore, the electricity problem is one of the issues from which the countryside suffers. We find that there are villages which electricity has reached, but that electricity has not reached the annexes. There is also the problem of the roads and of sanitary drainage in some places. It may be that these are the problems from which the citizens suffer in the countryside and for which they demand solutions. If the NDP begins moving to eliminate these problems in successive phases, it will bolster its presence in these governorates.

The NDP assistant secretary general added:

Therefore, I believe that the other parties' practices still fall short of following the present development of events--a development which requires these parties to move with greater speed. Furthermore, the political practices of the other parties have not yet assumed a pan-Arab character up to this time.

[Question] How is this?

[Answer] For example, with regard to the issue of "Reho" rice, the opposition parties published reports saying that we had lost enormous amounts of up to 160 million pounds. The loss has not been as huge as has been protracted by the opposition parties since last September. This has resulted in farmers becoming slack in delivering the rice crop. Subsequently, it would have been possible for a crisis to occur at the national level and to affect our economy adversely. But we

were alert to this possibility, and we sent harvesters to harvest the crop. We also inspected the affected land and isolated the danger. Nevertheless, all the opposition papers continued publishing erroneous information, being oblivious to the national interest for the sake of party competition.

Anyway, the NDP was capable of confrontation, and it mentioned all the facts to the People's Assembly. We will compensate the peasants for the price of the seedlings. We will also allow them to repay their debts by installments and we will ban cultivation of this kind of rice.

#### Youth and the NDP

[Question] Which is the position of Egyptian youth in the NDP? We notice that up to this time, youths still keep their distance from actively working in the party, especially because it is possible, through your position in the party and in the cabinet, to exploit the potential of youth and their spirit of identifying with their country in building and cultivating the desert.

[Answer] We have indeed begun establishing an organization which includes youth, especially in the areas of agriculture and veterinary medicine, at the level of the villages, so that youth will become a positive factor in the villages. At the same time, there is a project jointly worked out with Brother Hasaballah al-Kafrawi, minister of construction, for allocating some of the new lands, so that they will become part of the youth activity. We will appropriate these lands to youth, while providing them with all resources, such as housing and the instruments and equipment needed in agriculture, for the purpose of invading the desert and cultivating it. A study is actually being conducted in this respect with the Ministry of Construction and with Brother Muhammad Rajab, NDP assistant secretary general for youth affairs.

[Question] It has been noticed that the NDP weekly meetings are confined to senior officials, ministers and members of the People's Assembly and of the Consultative Council from among NDP members, although these representatives can find places to air their views freely at their gatherings and although the press reports their meetings. Why are these meetings not open to NDP members, so that officials would feel the actual problems from which the ordinary citizens suffer and, furthermore, where do the remaining governorates stand in relation to these meetings?

[Answer] I fully agree with you on this opinion. However, in making a beginning, it has been imperative for us to start with the past picture. Later, I will suggest that this experiment be generalized in all the governorates and that the results of these meetings be sent to the Office of the General Secretariat. In fact, there are

seven governorates in which the governors have started allocating a day a week to listen to the citizens' problems and to try to resolve them. It is noticed that these governorates do not suffer from serious problems such as the ones from which the other governorates suffer--governorates in which links have become severed among the governors, the party and the masses. This is a remark which I will raise at the meeting of the Office of the General Secretariat--and this is a good question indeed.

Dr Yusuf Wali added: with regard to the weekly meetings at the level of Cairo, it is possible in the coming phase that we will invite the citizens from among the sons of the NDP, whether they be university youth, workers, homemakers and others, and that we will listen to them at random, so that we will lay our hand on the actual problems from which the broad base of the people suffers and so that meetings will not be limited to the members of the People's Assembly and of the Consultative Council, who can find places to talk freely about their problems at their gatherings.

#### Useful Ministerial Tours

[Question] In your opinion, following the lapse of about a year since the elections, has the NDP achieved the party platform through which it had won the elections, especially in connection with providing food security, controlling prices and relieving the masses of their sufferings?

[Answer] I can say that so far as agriculture and food security are concerned, the NDP has indeed adhered to the election platform through which it had won the elections. Even more, the NDP has kept the promises that it had made in the past years, despite the changes of administrations. In other words, the projects which the Committee on Agriculture and Irrigation had mentioned in the era of President Al-Sadat have been implemented. Furthermore, the projects which have been mentioned since the beginning of President Husni Mubarak's term up to this time have been implemented at no less than a 70 percent rate. Therefore, the chairman of the NDP Committee on Agriculture and Irrigation has not been changed in the new appointments.

[Question] How about the other committee? Have they too adhered to the party's election platform?

[Answer] Concerning the remaining committees, this question makes us review the position of the remaining committees to find where we stand in relation to the party's election platform, so far as the remaining activities are concerned.

[Question] It is noticed at this time that ministers are making numerous tours, whether with President Mubarak or as individuals. Does this not affect the time a minister has to achieve the tasks of

his ministry? In other words, there are those who wonder: at which times do ministers work at their ministries?

The NDP assistant secretary general answered:

The ministers are required to make these tours--and this applies to all officials. A ministerial post held under President Husni Mubarak is dissimilar to any ministerial post held in the past, when a minister would sit in his office and he would meet with a very limited number of citizens. If I now enter my office from 7 am and stay in it until 1500 pm on a usual day, I meet with about 250 people, and sometimes this number reaches 400 persons a day. Therefore, it becomes preferable that I go out to the field. Even more, I consider the day on which I go out on a field visit as one of the working days on which the largest number of achievements is made, despite the trouble incurred in traveling.

These field visits, which President Husni Mubarak initiated, have become a basic characteristic of the work of all ministers and officials. They afford greater opportunities for viewing the masses' problems on location and for listening to the masses and acting to resolve their problems. The problem is that people suffer, but they find nobody to listen to them. Sometimes, as soon as an official determines the issue and gives a simple administrative solution, the issue is completely resolved and the citizens are relieved of their sufferings. Even all the difficult achievements, which have been made in the agricultural sector, have been scored through the field visits made by President Mubarak, especially because the procedure pursued prior to any visit made by the president calls for placing before him a detailed picture of the events going on in the location of the visit through the official responsible for the sector concerned. Certainly, the president has general information on every sector. However, every particular detail about the location that is about positive and negative factors, is brought to the president's attention. We even concentrate on the negative factors which hinder production and on their causes. Immediately after a visit is made, decisions are made by the official responsible for the particular sector, so that negative factors can be tackled. Therefore, the level of performance improves and problems are resolved. This is especially true, since the president would earnestly make more than one visit to a location to see whether these required amendments have been implemented.

Therefore, these visits, whether they are made in the president's company or individually, are of great benefit to production, especially in the sectors that come in direct touch with the masses, such as the education and health sector; the agriculture, industry and oil sectors; or other sectors.

The dialogue with Yusuf Wali came to an end.

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EGYPT

SYMPOSIUM DISCUSSES SINAI RECONSTRUCTION, DEVELOPMENT

Cairo AL-DIFA' in Arabic Apr 85 pp 43-47

[Article by Staff Brig Gen 'Abd-al-Mun'im Karim: "Highlights of the Strategic Symposium For Reconstruction and Development of Sinai"]

[Text] The reconstruction of Sinai was the central topic at the armed forces' fourth strategic symposium, which was held between 16 and 18 March 1985 by the Armed Forces Military Research Organization. The symposium was chaired by Field Marshal 'Abd-al-Halim Abu Ghazalah, deputy prime minister, minister of defense and war production and commander-in-chief of the armed forces. In opening the symposium Field Marshal Abu Ghazalah said, "We've done a lot of talking, and we've done a lot of research. It is time for action!"

"Yes, it is time to work for the development and reconstruction of that part of the country that is dear to every Egyptian. Sinai is that sacred part of Egypt's territory: it was glorified by God Almighty when it became the place where God's messages were revealed and where the prophets lived and traveled. God honored Sinai further by mentioning it in His Koran. Throughout the ages Sinai has also been the eastern gateway to Egypt, which was invaded through Sinai, over whose lands the most honorable and most virulent battles were fought to defend land and honor. Sinai will always be Egypt's principal line of defense against an attack coming from the northeast."

The field marshal went on to add, "Sinai is our hope for prosperity. It still has a wealth of resources that are calling upon us to utilize them. Sinai's oil and coal, its white and dark sands, its mountains, quarries, waters, and beaches are good resources; they are very good for Egypt."

The field marshal said that in its present condition Sinai constitutes a strategic vacuum. Population density in Sinai is under three persons per square kilometer. Only comprehensive development, which could make Sinai attract residents from the densely populated valley, could increase population density there.

Therefore, the question of Sinai's development and reconstruction is a national question that will primarily affect Egypt's national security. Sinai has a special place in the minds and hearts of each member of the armed forces. No matter how much time passes, the memories we have there will never be forgotten.

Soldiers' blood was spilled on the sands of Sinai, and soldiers who died in action are buried there. Sinai is that part of Egypt for which the largest number of Egyptians died, and yet it is that part of the country that remains out of people's minds most.

#### The Objective of the Symposium

**The First Objective:** It is the aim of the symposium to come up with a clear view of strategic development in Sinai by scrutinizing and standardizing data available about Sinai in various state organizations regarding confirmed and possible sources of water, natural resources and, most importantly, human resources, the principal factor in development. Then, possibilities for developing and utilizing these resources are to be analyzed. Afterwards, the most suitable and feasible economic projects for Sinai's development and reconstruction are to be set forth, and priorities for these projects are to be set till the year 2010.

**The Second Objective:** It is the second aim of the symposium to coordinate development and reconstruction requirements with those of defending Sinai, Egypt's eastern gateway. Those who contemplate invading Egypt through Sinai must be made to think 1,000 times about their action. If they do invade Egypt through Sinai, they will pay a heavy price.

The characteristics of this symposium were such as to make it stand out as a symposium that differed from previous ones. Among these characteristics are:

--Work began about 4 months before that symposium was convened. That work was done by specialized committees that met periodically and worked for about 720 hours.

--A large number of Egypt's scientists as well as senior officials in the various ministries and organizations that are concerned with the subject of the symposium took part in these committees. They worked alongside officers in the armed forces who are specialists in these areas and who have the highest academic degrees.

--There was total coordination among the committees and between the committees and the duly authorized ministries and organizations.

--Some of the symposium committees visited Sinai to conduct field studies or to have discussions with officials there and find out what they thought about some subjects.

--The various committees went out of their way to ensure that their studies would be practical studies that can be applied or implemented. They wanted to ensure that their studies would not be merely theoretical or academic studies that had nothing to do with Sinai and did not take Egypt's economic conditions into consideration.

--There were a few heated scientific discussions in some symposium committees. In fact, I ought to say they were splendid scientific conflicts that made us have a sense of the affection that all those who were in the committees felt for

Egypt. It were as though each one of them were fighting for Egypt and its future, fighting to achieve what is best for the country. And all this was being done with total objectivity: no one showed off or trivialized the issue.

#### Business Procedures at the Symposium

The symposium was conducted in a scientific, logical manner geared for study and research; it proceeded according to the following steps:

##### Studies about Listing, Developing and Putting Natural Resources to Good Use:

--Confirmed natural resources in Sinai were listed, and the most specific data available in that regard were obtained.

--Further development of those resources that are already being utilized was studied.

--The utilization of confirmed and unutilized resources was studied. The most suitable projects were identified, and the objective of each project was set. The quantities of water and energy necessary for each project, the employment opportunities and residential communities it will create, and an approximate estimated cost for each project were determined. Implementation priorities were set so that the strategic objectives of development, which take defense requirements into account, could be achieved.

--A time frame was set for conducting the research that is required for confirming the existence of possible resources.

#### Infrastructure Studies

--Existing infrastructure organizations or those whose implementation is being planned in the current 5-year plan were listed. Their conditions were described, and suggestions to improve their efficiency were made.

--Required infrastructure projects would be determined in the light of economic projects for developing and utilizing natural resources. The number of settlers required for each project was to be calculated.

--The estimated cost of new infrastructure projects that are required was computed, and the cost of refurbishing and repairing existing infrastructure projects was also computed. Implementation priorities were set, and the implementation priorities of development projects and defense requirements were taken into consideration.

#### Studies for Developing Human Resources and Services

This includes listing existing facilities for various services.

--The form and method of delivering various services as well as the facilities for those services were determined in light of proposed development projects and residential communities that were to be established with these projects.

--Estimated costs for these facilities were computed.

--Implementation priorities were set in accordance with the priorities of establishing the residential communities that are anticipated.

#### Facts Pointed Out by the Symposium

##### In the Area of Agriculture and Food Security

###### Population

--The present number of the population is 167,000 persons: a density of 2.75 persons per square kilometer.

--Development projects require that 186,500 persons from the valley be brought into Sinai until the year 1992.

--With the implementation of proposed economic development projects and at the current rate of population growth, the population of Sinai is expected to be about 392,000 persons by 1992 and about 538,000 by 2010.

##### Confirmed Water and Quantities of Water from the Nile and Drainage Canals To Be Transported

--Surface water (streams, rainfall, dew, fog): 11.7 billion cubic meters annually.

--Ground water (surface and deep wells, water from sandhills): 90.1 billion cubic meters annually.

--Water to be transported through the principal culvert and the peace canal: 5.5 billion cubic meters annually.

###### Farm Land

--Areas currently cultivated: 30,681 feddans.

--Areas designated in the current plan for reclamation and cultivation: 35,275 feddans.

--Areas that could possibly be cultivated: 262,000 feddans.

###### Cattle, Poultry and Fish Resources

--Cows and calves: 3,100 heads.

--Sheep and goats: 859,400 heads.

--Camels: 14,200 heads.

--Poultry (3 cycles only per year): 443,000 chickens annually. That figure can become 738,000 chickens annually if there were 5 cycles per year.

--Dairy products: 30 tons a day.

--Eggs: 8.5 million eggs a year.

--Fish: 2,600 tons a year; that figure may become 5,000 tons a year by 1992.

Sinai can become self-sufficient in food, and it can export some of its products to the valley, especially meat, poultry, chicken, eggs, dairy products and fish. It is also considered one of the most suitable areas in Egypt for establishing poultry farm projects, as the governor of North Sinai said. Desert land in Sinai is available, and poultry projects can be set up there instead of setting them up on farm land in the valley. There are also no poultry diseases in Sinai. Besides, it is close to the areas of consumption.

#### In the Area of Industry and Mining

##### Confirmed Natural Resources in Sinai

--Oil: oil reserves are 1,478 billion barrels; daily production is 304,000 barrels.

--Coal and carbon clay: 130 million tons in reserves.

--Ferromanganese: 2.5 million tons in reserves including 1 million tons confirmed reserves.

--Gypsum: Annual planned production, according to the current plan, is 360,000 tons a year.

--Marble: Reserves are estimated to be 2 million cubic meters.

--Cement ores: Reserves are estimated to be 430 million tons.

--The Sabikah Salt Mines: Its annual production capacity is 470,000 tons of table salt, sodium carbonate and caustic soda. In addition, 120,000 tons of sheets of glass and glass containers are produced.

--Kaolin: 100 million tons in reserves.

--Sand for glass: 1 million tons in reserves.

--Building materials (limestone, yellow sand and stones): 1.2 million cubic meters a year.

In addition to the fact that there is strong evidence to suggest that there are other possible resources, Sinai has tremendous resources for mining and industry. These would enable us to do without some of the raw materials we are importing at the present time, such as marble, ferromanganese ingots and cement. In addition, some of these raw materials may be exported.

#### In the Area of Tourism

Sinai has tremendous resources for tourism, especially its beaches and some archeological sites. However, it lacks some services.

Tourism also requires activities that promote tourism: marketing techniques inside the country and abroad must be employed; and investments in tourism must be increased.

If Sinai were utilized as a tourist attraction on sound economic principles, it would realize for Egypt a tremendous return in foreign currency, which we desperately need.

#### The Symposium's Recommendations

--A high-level commission for the development and reconstruction of Sinai is to be established; it is to be subordinate to the prime minister's office.

--A data bank is to be established in which all the data and information available about Sinai and all the studies that have been completed in this regard would be kept.

#### --In the Area of Water and Irrigation:

Modern methods of irrigation are to be used.

Studies are to be conducted on using water from dew and fog.

Studies on the speed of wind in various parts of Sinai are to be conducted, and these studies are to be used in pumping water by means of windmills.

Al-Rawafi'ah Dam is to be cleaned and construction of al-Dayqah Dam is to be studied.

#### --In the Area of Agriculture and Food Security

Use of water from al-Salam Canal is to be reconsidered, and the possibility of using that water far into the eastern part of Sinai is to be considered.

The governorate of Sinai is to work with the Ministry of Agriculture to come up with the necessary funding (about 15 million pounds) to develop animal and poultry resources.

Nurseries for trees that are to be grown for timber are to be established so that the trees can be used as barriers against the wind. These nurseries are to grow acacia trees, which will be used to stabilize the sand dunes.

#### In the Area of Industry and Mining

Attention is to be devoted to national industrial projects which increase national revenues: al-Maghara Coal Project; and operations at the ferro-manganese mine and plant are to be resumed.

Construction of a cement plant in Abu Zanimah, like the one which is to be built in the area of al-Sirr, is to be considered.

Attention is to be given to industrial projects whose cost does not exceed 5

million pounds and which provide a quick return on investment and give the private sector an opportunity to participate.

Attention is to be given to mining projects that provide raw materials for energy, such as carbon clay and coal.

**--In the Area of Population and Settlement**

The settlement of the local population is to be encouraged by giving them ownership of farm land and putting them to work in development projects as a matter of top priority. Other manpower requirements for development projects are to be met by attracting people from the valley.

Appropriate services and easy term loans for new residents are to be provided.

**--In the Area of Electricity and Energy**

Implementation of the power plant at 'Uyun Musa is to be begun promptly.

Linking the power system in Sinai with that in the rest of the country is to be considered.

Solar energy is to be used in homes.

**--In the area of Transportation and Communications**

The governorates of North Sinai and South Sinai are to be linked together by a microwave network.

Road construction and maintenance in Sinai is to be standardized.

Extending the railroad to Sinai to meet future traffic needs is to be considered.

**--In the Area of Housing and Utilities**

Local construction materials are to be used in modern construction.

Sanitary drainage systems must be completed.

The habits and customs of the residents of different parts of Sinai are to be studied so that the most suitable housing modes that are consistent with their nature could be developed.

**In the Area of Education and Culture**

The kind of education offered and the requirements of the development plan are to be linked.

Establishment of one-classroom schools is to be expanded.

Sinai officials are to work with al-Azhar officials to wipe out the illiteracy of young people and to teach them the principles of religion.

Special Recommendations Regarding Project Priorities

Top Priority Projects:

205 residential projects to house 70,000 persons at a cost of 520 million pounds.

Second Priority Projects:

Six housing projects to house 180,000 persons at a cost of 963 million pounds.

The symposium was merely a step on the way. It is time for us to act. Important as it is, Sinai has been deprived of development efforts in the past. We must make up for that by devoting care and attention to Sinai now and in the future. The fact that Sinai has been out of our hands recently may give us all an incentive to work sincerely and with determination to make up for what happened to it and its people.

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EGYPT

EDITOR REVIEWS LATEST CABINET SHIFT, ECONOMIC CHANGES

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 5 Apr 85 pp 1, 3

/Article by Ibrahim Nafi': "What Has Happened? How Did It Happen? What Way Out Is There?/

/Text/ We always aspire for a better future for our country. Its features are glimmering on the far horizon: in the "labor camps" that have been set up in numerous places on our country's map, for the sake of development and construction, and in the beehives that are vigilant every night, until morning, to remedy chronic problems through radical solutions which deal with causes, not results.

In a spirit of seriousness, integrity and avoidance of luxury and show whose values are being implanted among everyone day by day in a manner which will allow no doubt that positions of responsibility are positions of self-sacrificing public service, not luxury or welfare.

In numerous other glimpses, the plainest and most serious of which, at the same time, are that it is the law alone which is the master of everyone, rulers and ruled, and that stability is a basic goal of the regime, so that initiatives can advance and officials can find their just opportunity in their own places for carrying out and monitoring their programs, provided that evaluation and stocktaking ultimately are made over practical results, not intentions, and on the basis of objective causes and factors, not for the sake of personal reasons and factors.

As regards the public interest and the country's future, there is no room for the settlement of personal accounts with anyone, and there is no room either for personal feelings and emotional considerations regarding anyone. The nation's causes are too lofty and serious for these sorts of considerations to be made in their regard.

Although our eyes must always continue to be set on the future, that must not prevent us from looking backward from time to time so that we can understand the true nature of the important events and developments our life is witnessing and we can become acquainted with their causes and driving forces. There is no doubt that the most important of these recent developments are

the raging tempests that have occurred recently in our economic life and the deterioration which has followed that, reaching its dramatic peak in the recent ministerial change, which included the resignation of the former minister of economy and the appointment of the new minister of economy, as well as the acceptance of the resignation of the former governor of the Central Bank and the appointment of a new governor for it.

We have the right, in the midst of these important developments, to ask what has happened.

And why it happened, how all this happened, then how we can extricate ourselves from what has happened, so that we may continue our forward progress and our permanent aspiration toward a better future.

Without lengthy introductions, I can say that the beginning of what happened in past weeks was proper but that its end has not been proper, or desired, in any way. Between the sound beginning and the disgraceful end is a vast abyss--the difference between proper premises and the erroneous or unstable application of the decrees dictated by these premises.

The story began, as was later learned, with the economic decrees in August 1983, in the time of the cabinet of the late Fu'ad Muhyi-al-Din, when thinking was devoted to coping with the trade in foreign currency, in view of the negative effects that had on the Egyptian pound and the economy, after the hard currency dealers had turned into a "cartel" representing an ugly form of monopoly and controlling hard currency resources and the price of the Egyptian pound. Therefore, thought began to be given to limiting the rise in the price of foreign currency and trying to control the commerce in it, and at the same time to limiting the demand for foreign currency to import unessential and provocative goods.

The problem was discussed copiously in the Policy Committee, then in the current cabinet, and thinking began to be given to the adoption of certain economic decisions which would realize this goal. It was never asserted, in the cabinet or the specialized committees, that the goal was to prohibit imports without the transfer of currency. I can say that it did not occur to the cabinet to prohibit imports without the transfer of currency and that this phrase was not raised at any of its meetings or meetings of the technical committees which were assigned the task.

These decrees were then issued last 5 January. They were complete surprise to people who hold responsibility at its highest places. I can say that they were a "surprise" to most members of the present cabinet.

These included a serious decree which had its influential deleterious aspects on the Egyptian economy and the provision of the citizens' requirements for consumer goods, the provision of the requirements of production for factories and companies, and other new features of economic life in Egypt.

This decree was the decree to restrict dealings in imports to the Egyptian pound.

Was this decree coordinated with the general policy the cabinet had endorsed and sought to put into practice?

The answer, simply, is no--the decree was not coordinated with the policy and was not compatible with it. Indeed, I can also say that dealings in imports in the Egyptian pound were also a complete surprise to many people, that that was not propounded and mention of it did not appear, in any meeting held to discuss and study the problem before the adoption of decisions in its regard.

Therefore the prime minister issued some corrective decrees on 17 January, just 12 days after the issuance of the economic decrees.

The basic goal was to control the trade in currency, reduce demand for foreign currencies and guide imports of some unessential commodities or commodities for which suitable adequate domestic alternatives to meet the needs of consumers exist.

That was the goal, and this was the beginning.

However, what happened after that was something totally different from what had been intended by this policy, whose broad outlines were approved by the cabinet for the public interest.

Import activity, both, stopped, or almost stopped, in these unessential commodities or in essential ones, because the guidance committees received a thousand documents in the form of import applications and the people submitting them stood in long lines waiting for agreement. An agreement was made after intensive effort and much waiting, they would once again stand waiting in long lines, because there was not enough foreign currency to open credits, and this we must admit without equivocation.

Before the guidance committees, 24,600 import applications piled up, and the committees stood almost powerless before them. How could the committees discuss all of these applications? In what time period would they carry them out, even if they wanted, without the commodities and necessary requirements of the consumers being depleted? Moreover, the decrees specified the categories which are to be guided, but they did not specify the volumes, whom they would give them to, or on what bases they would be distributed among the people applying to import them.

In the local market, demand for some goods increased, in anticipation that they would disappear after a period. Some people stored large quantities of these goods while others raised their prices as a result of the hectic scramble for them. The prices of numerous commodities rose while important commodities disappeared from the markets and the shops were stripped of many elements of their commerce in a brief period of time!

Domestic trade suffered from an unmistakeable recession in the months following the issuance of these decrees, while the commodity reserve existing in Egypt increased, because people who could get hold of any commodity did not know when they would find it again.

The citizens' basic requirements were also negatively affected by these decrees. Importers of frozen meat and poultry were unable to import that because of the obstacles of the guidance committees and the difficulties of providing foreign currency for imports.

Investment declined pitifully just 3 months after the issuance of these decrees, whereas investment rates in Egypt had reached their greatest extent before the issuance of these decrees.

Public and private industry were also affected by the decline in imports, the decline in production accessories, and the rise in prices of those that remained in the markets. Even the prices of paper in Egypt, for example, rose by terrifying rates, and the Ministry of Education was left unable to print schoolbooks because of the shortage and high prices of paper.

The remittances to Egypt of Egyptians working abroad also declined; these Egyptians started actually to refrain from remitting their savings, especially since the decrees did not eliminate the black market commerce in hard currency-- rather, this commerce continued, and the price of the dollar continued to rise until it came to 142 piasters.

It is amazing that the warnings of many of these negative features were apparent from the first days the decrees went into effect, to the point where the prime minister saw no choice but to present a report to President Mubarak stating that the decrees had deviated from the economic policy stipulated with regard to a number of points, which the report spelled out, and the president endorsed the prime minister's view and issued corrective decrees 12 days later. However, the general policy of the original decrees remained in being, which led to the aggravation of their effects and the developments witnessed by economic activity in Egypt, the peak of which, as I said, came before the resignation of the minister of economy.

It is also amazing that one of the most important causes which led to the confusion and paralysis which economic activity witnessed during the previous period was the Central Bank's failure to perform its mission, for a more amazing reason, which was that it was subject to total control by the minister of economy, in violation of the stipulations of the law on banks and in violation of all banking customs and traditions!

The situation reached the point where the bank of banks became a "department" subordinate to the Ministry of Economy, though it is the former which ought to preserve its independence and neutrality in maintaining the banking policies which it considers appropriate for realizing the country's interests, and should impose its firm hold on banking activity in order to direct that toward the public interest.

This is what happened. How did it happen, and why did it happen?

As to the means for extricating ourselves from what has happened, that began with serious steps to correct errors. It also began in the first days following the issuance of these decrees, with President Mubarak's assertion to everyone that Egypt's economic policy was to encourage investment and the participation of the private sector in development and that there was no turning back from the policy of productive liberalization, and the assertion by Mr Kamal Hasan 'Ali, the prime minister, at all meetings, that the government was flexible and would not adhere firmly to any decrees whose bad consequences were established through application. The steps of the remedy then took concrete form in the definition of basic confrontation steps, which were founded on three stages:

First, the stage of the policy of the urgent confrontation of the negative features which arose from these decrees, by which economic activity and the citizens' requirements were affected.

Second, the medium-range policy of encouraging investment, restoring investment confidence in the investment climate in Egypt and prompting and encouraging the public and private sectors to take off and play their part in production.

Third, the long-range policy for determining stable, firm economic policies which would not change with changes in persons or governments and would be a permanent charter for economic activity in Egypt.

In this direction, President Mubarak decided to form the economic advisory group to recommend economic policies and to take charge of studying them in a thorough manner which would guarantee them stability and solidity.

I imagine that this sort of group must contain diverse economic experts in numerous economists', businessmen's and bankers' fields so that it will be possible to ascertain the effects of any proposed economic policies in all sectors. The serious decree which was issued requiring that the Central Bank be directly subordinate to the office of the prime minister was also aimed at this. It is a decree whose goal basically is that the bank will not be affected by individual performance or the special vision of any minister subordinate to the office of minister of economy, but rather that the bank should operate under the inspiration of firm, stable policies which will not change with changes in the persons of the ministers.

In my opinion, this serious decree must be followed by the amendment of the law which allows the minister of the economy the right to object to people who are appointed chairman of the board of a bank or member of its board. That is the genuine right of the Central Bank, essentially, but actual procedures have in practice given that to the minister of economy.

The steps are numerous, the effort to remedy the effects and proceed toward the consummation of the course are sincere, and there is confidence in the

government's ability fully to guide the ship. It is, in truth, as the foreign papers have described it, the most powerful ministerial organization Egypt has known for years. It is enough to say that it is the only formation which contains serious, self-sacrificing experts and is operating in a climate which makes it possible for its members to carry out the programs in the context of firm stability and "security" from the vicissitudes of caprice or personal excitability and in total confidence that the just rule among all lies in the constitution and the law. No one is leaving his position in response to pressure campaigns, out of a feverish quest for cheap popularity or in satisfaction of personal inclinations.

Rather, everyone is working, and the sole verdict on their work lies with the people, the law and the constitution.

Everyone is working and there is no criterion for evaluating work and people's efforts except their practical results in serving Egypt and serving the Egyptian people.

In this sort of climate, people's wills are liberated, participation advances and affiliation is reaffirmed, and we have the right to aspire to a better tomorrow.

What will prophecy this expected tomorrow for us?

That is what I will discuss next week.

11887  
CSO: 4504/300

EGYPT

MUBARAK'S ECONOMIC POLICIES DISCUSSED

Cairo MAYU in Arabic 15 Apr 85 p 3

[Article by Nabil Abazah: "The Right Tune"]

[Text] The decree that President Husni Mubarak issued forming an advisory group that will lay down a stable economic policy is highly significant. Members of that group will be economists from the specialized national councils and from the National Party's Economic Committee.

The president's decree affirms that the state will not fail to take immediate action to correct the course of the economy, which is considered Egypt's primary problem now. However, what many people may not realize about the significance of that decree is that the state, represented by its president, Husni Mubarak, believes fully in specialization and in the importance of having specialists deal with issues and problems.

What is odd is that the general demands we are making now to correct the course of the economy have already been considered by the committees of specialized national councils. These committees identified what was impeding the course of the economy and [suggested] solutions for that in a detailed report. But the specialized national committees did not issue that serious report until recently. It was specifically in 1975, that is, 10 years ago, when that report was presented to the first session of these councils, which convened in January 1975.

This serious report called attention to the importance of the Central Bank's condition as the economy's principal and vital nerve center. The report called for the Central Bank to be independent of the Ministry of Economy so it could become the best and largest bank, which is what is required now. The report asked that the governor of the Central Bank be granted immunity and that he be appointed by the government after his nomination is approved by the legislative authority. The governor of the bank is to be invited to attend the meetings of the Council of Ministers. The report asked that the Central Bank take part in drafting the state's general budget.

The most serious recommendation made in that report was that which called for the Central Bank to manage foreign currency accounts and supervise foreign loans and credit terms.

It is curious that this 10-year old report asked that the status of foreign banks operating in Egypt be looked into. It asked that studies be conducted to determine the country's need for these foreign banks and to determine the size and kind of banks that were needed. Thus, the country would not be taken by surprise with a large number of foreign banks operating in it. That could serve foreign interests more than national interests, and that could hurt the national economy.

The report discussed every item of major or minor importance in the field of economic affairs in detail. It discussed economic liberalization and defined the reasons or the obstacles impeding the flow of investments into Egypt. These are administrative obstacles; the lack of coordination between organizations that oversee liberalization projects; and the absence of a clear view regarding the rates of exchange, which must be applied when foreign currency comes into the country, when it leaves and when profits are transferred abroad.

The report recommended that the stock exchange be reopened and that shares in joint projects be sold at the stock exchange.

It is also noteworthy that in this report specialized national councils called for an objective evaluation of agrarian reform. They asked that the pricing policy for agricultural crops be looked into and that prices for production requirements be stabilized for fixed periods of time. They asked that a new formula for the relationship between landowner and tenant be set.

Among the most important issues being stirred up now are those of removing top soil from farm land and the subject of the brick industry. The recommendations that were issued 10 years ago called attention to the importance of finding alternatives to red bricks and replacing them with clay bricks to preserve the fertility of the soil. Priority was to be given to the construction of plants that manufacture bricks from clay, sand and cement. Plants that manufacture pre-fabricated homes, which are now used all over the world, were also to be built. The report also asked that a law be enacted to make removing the top soil from farm land a crime.

It was also 10 years ago that experts in the specialized national councils asked that proper usage of irrigation water be set to save 5 billion cubic meters of water, which is the difference between current use and essential needs. The report also asked that special studies on ground water be completed.

These recommendations that were issued by the experts indicate that the specialized national councils are not councils whose members get together "to chew the fat" or "kill time." These councils are made up of people who have the most valuable minds in Egypt. They are working to solve the problems of our society and to shape an image of Egypt in the future. They do not resort to flowery language and rhetoric, but they are engaged in serious studies that are based on facts and figures, on their extensive experience and on a scientific approach.

Therefore, everyone welcomed the president's decision to have the economists of specialized national councils join the experts of the National Party's Economic Committee in the advisory group.

IRAQ

CLERIC DISCUSSES ISLAMIC CONFERENCE

GF281652 Baghdad Television Service in Persian 0842 GMT 28 Apr 85

[Video talk by Dr Musa Musavi, grandson of Seyyed Abol-Hasan Esfahani, the "Great Shi'ite Leader," on conference of Islamic clerics held in Baghdad from 22-25 April--date not given; live or recorded]

[Text] [Unidentified announcer] Greetings to you dear viewers. As you know, from 22-25 April, a great conference [of Islamic clerics] was held in Baghdad--Baghdad, the city of peace; Baghdad, the city of saints. We had a meeting with Dr Musa Musavi during the conference and we promised to discuss the conference and its decisions with Dr Musavi, grandson of Seyyed Abol-Hasan Esfahani, the great Shi'ite leader.

Now we have this opportunity and Dr Musa has been kind enough to come here to the Persian studios of the Farsi program of Baghdad Television. We thank him in advance and take this occasion to ask him what happened at the conference. We wish to inform you our dear viewers of the discussions at the conference and its results.

[Musa Musavi] This is a good opportunity and I am glad to be here to talk with the people of Iran. I hope they will hear what we have to say, especially the viewers near the borders of Iran and those who can see this program. They should listen carefully to what I have to say.

The conference that we attended in Baghdad was one of the great conferences held within the past 2 years. Of course, this was after the first conference and everyone knows about that conference.

At this conference we had 400 of the Islamic world's wisest clerics from different Islamic countries and even from non-Islamic countries which have large Muslim populations. We had a great many respected persons.

During the 3 or 4 days of the conference all the gentlemen and all the Islamic scholars discussed the main issue confronting and threatening Islam today. The issue that is threatening Islam's spirit and the spiritual aspects of Muslims, the issue that has belittled Islam in the opinions of the people and world, indeed the human race, was discussed. That is, of course, the matter of the Iran-Iraq war, a war between two Muslim peoples and two Muslim and neighboring nations. This was the main topic of the conference and everyone had something to say about this tragic matter.

The issue of war between two ummah's of Islam and two Islamic countries is a subject which, as far as the holy Koran and Islam are concerned, is condemned. This is a clear and indisputable issue. Anyone who reads the verses of the Koran, and anyone who understands the word of the Koran even slightly knows that this war is against the will of God Almighty. God Almighty has ordered that if two tribes of Islam fight against one another, one must mediate to create peace between them. If one of these two parties does not accept this offer of peace and rejects peace, one must fight against that party to force that party to accept peace. This is very clear in the holy verses of the Koran.

The gentlemen knew that during this time that the war between Iran and Iraq has been going on, Iraq has offered to make peace with Iran more than 10 times. All of these have been rejected by Khomeyni. Of course I must add here that when I use the word Iran, I really mean Khomeyni, because the people of Iran are all against the war and we know this. I will also talk in detail about the demonstrations that are going on today in Iran against the war. I will also talk about the clergymen inside Iran who have stood up against this war with courage and in all truth. Unfortunately, it is only Khomeyni who according to the constitution of the Islamic republic--this bill of law that is hated and disgusting--has the power to declare war and peace. The constitution makes it clear in several places that the declaration of war and peace is up to the leader and in another part it says that the leader is Khomeyni himself. In other words, it has been mentioned in the constitution that it is Khomeyni who must declare either war or peace. Therefore, he has the sole responsibility for the continuation of the war. It is he who is continuing the war and it is he who is not accepting peace. He is the one rejecting all the offers.

In any case, despite the fact that Iraq has offered peace proposals more than 10 times, and after Khomeyni rejected all of them and during these past few years, especially after the first Islamic conference held in Baghdad 2 years ago when the Islamic clergymen gathered together, we all remember that at that time Mr President said: Anything you say and suggest I am willing to accept and agree to right now. This in itself raised the hopes of the people and Islamic clergymen. We saw that Khomeyni once again rejected this humble proposal. And since that date, during the past 2 years international bodies and Islamic gatherings held many sessions in Islamic countries and the subject of the Iran-Iraq war has been discussed on many occasions in the United Nations. All of these presented peace proposals to Iran.

[GF281714] If we add those other peace proposals handed down by the other Islamic conferences in Islamic countries in the past 2 years and if we total all these up, we see that 15 or 16 times various international Islamic and other world bodies have given Iran and Khomeyni peace offers and he has rejected all of these. In addition, Iraq all this time was ready to make peace and to have people come and discuss all aspects and all events of the war. All these were rejected by Khomeyni.

In this case, the Islamic clergy knew that they were faced with a stubborn and criminal element who pays no attention or positive response to logic, common-sense, Islam, to the Koran, to nationalism, or to humanity. For him it makes no difference. He pays no attention to Islam or Iran or the Islamic nations or the Muslims. He just wants bloodshed. He has said this himself. We did not make this up. He has said: Our purpose in this war is not to be the victors but only to make war. This means that the purpose of this is just to kill. The purpose is to kill, to be killed; to destroy, to be destroyed; to demolish all economic, industrial, and health establishments. This is what it means.

Of course there have been destroyers in world history. This is not the first time that the people of the world have come face to face with such evil destructive thoughts. When the Mongols started their raids from their headquarters and their own place of inhabitance and when they came toward the east, they were not thinking of territorial expansion in that sense. They came only to destroy. History proves this. They used to come, destroy towns, and rape, and then they moved on. For a long time the Mongols in their attacks against eastern and Islamic countries did not want to expand their territory, only to destroy. Later, they were able to establish some sort of a government.

Now, Khomeyni is following the same Mongol goal and philosophy toward Islamic countries. He says the purpose is not to achieve victory but only to make war. Only war matters to Khomeyni. Only killing matters to him. Of course this is something that the Islamic clergy are aware of. These stupid comments of this human have been translated into different languages and they know this.

It was at this time that the President Mr Saddam Husayn came, and despite the fact that 2 years had passed since the rejection of his proposal, and after Khomeyni had reacted that way toward that humble proposal and had shown such stubbornness, again the president came and told the Islamic clerics that he was ready to accept any proposals that come from them.

On the same day that he made this proposal to the Islamic clergy and while the conference was still going on we heard that Khomeyni had lashed out against the Islamic conference and the Islamic clergymen with that rude tongue of his. He insulted the clergymen and said they were the king's clerics while it is he who has surrounded himself with the king's clerics.

You stupid man, a king's cleric is your own president who is a woolly worthless mullah who until yesterday used to read prayers for this or that person at graveyards in Khorasan for pennies. You have brought these king's clerics and you have forced them onto Iranian society. This Hashemi-Rafsanjani who was a wandering mullah or mullah Kani, or the other Musavi-Ardebili or Montazeri—all these were a bunch of wandering mullahs who traveled in the villages of Iran and who used to stretch out their hands for a penny here and a penny there. You have brought these men and you have given them control of society. It is your rule that is the rule of the king's clerics.

You are one yourself. Before you became anything, everyone remembers that during the holy months of Moharram and Safar you used to travel through the villages of Qom and Khomeyn and you used to read prayers and stretch out your

hands toward this and that. Again this man, with the same old audacity, has come again and again and insulted the Islamic clergy. This is why the clergy know that they are faced with a stubborn man who is a criminal and this is why they issued that historic edict saying that Khomeyni's rule is outside of Islam and religion and that Khomeyni is an element outside Islam and the Koran.

Of course, I must talk in detail about the results and effects of this important edict which was a turning point in the history of Islam and I hope that in the future, God willing, we get a chance to talk about this. Thank you.

CSO: 4400/128

IRAQ

BRIEFS

IRRIGATION PROJECT INAUGURATED--Irrigation Minister 'Abd al-Wahhab Mahmud laid the cornerstone of the northern Al-Jazirah irrigation project's pumping station in the Nineveh Governorate. The station will irrigate the project's 240 square kilometers with water from the lake at the Saddam Dam. The project is one of the three projects in Al-Jazirah. They are the northern, eastern, and southern Al-Jazirah projects, which irrigate more than 1,000 square kilometers.  
[Excerpt] [Baghdad INA in Arabic 1502 GMT 27 Apr 85 JN]

CSO: 4400/128

31 May 1985

## PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

## ANALYSIS OF INACTIVITY OF PALESTINIANS IN GERMANY

Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 14 Mar 85 p 10

/Article by Ze'ev Strominski: "Palestinians in Germany" /

[Text] The populations are about evenly balanced, one Jew for every Palestinian. Luckily, we're not talking about (Greater) Israel but West Germany. Estimates are that approximately 28,000-32,000 Palestinians live in the Rhineland, which is more or less the same as the local Jewish population. The number of Palestinians is only estimated, because this population is divided into groups of diverse nationalities such as Jordanians and Lebanese. In the official statistics they are not identified as Palestinians. Still, the Palestinians do not carry the same political weight as the Jews living in Germany. For example, Palestinian voices weren't heard in the streets of Bonn even when the new political storm broke out about the Green Party delegation to the Middle East.

The reason for the Palestinians' silence is not to be found in substandard living conditions. Around 10 percent of the Palestinians in Germany have an academic education (of course, these are only estimates); 20-30 percent run their own businesses, mostly in the trade and service industries (there is no serious Palestinian involvement in manufacturing), and a similar percentage are laborers. Most of the Palestinians in Germany have lived there for many years. Only a few Palestinian refugees went to Germany as a result of the Lebanese war. According to the estimates of German observers it was only around 600--a lot less than the authorities had expected. Most of the Palestinians live settled lives, their average income is relatively high, as is their standard of living. Many of them are married to Germans. Maybe that's the reason that most Palestinians don't want to get mixed up in the Middle East turmoil. "They have something to lose," says a German observer.

Maybe that's why there's no active Palestinian organizing done in Germany. Only 1,200-1,400 of them are members of Palestinian organizations. The exact number is hard to determine because of the many multiple memberships. Still, it appears that the majority of them--although it is a small majority--belong to the Fatah organization. In this organization Arafat's supporters are in complete control. Only around 10 percent of the Fatah members in Germany are supporters of the rebels against the PLO leader. The faithful majority keeps its eye on this minority.

The radical organizations are also represented, though groups such as Abu Nidal's have only succeeded in mobilizing a few members. The pro-Syrian al-Sa'iqah barely exists today in Germany.

The overall impression is that the total number of Palestinians who belong to the various organizations is getting smaller, despite the mobilization attempts of these organizations. The organizations are not even successful at getting the Palestinians to raise money on a large scale. The Palestinian appeal in Germany is indolently run and constantly causes disappointment to its organizers who complain about their people's so-called stinginess.

The organizational apathy of the Palestinians does not create a good atmosphere for terrorist activities. Still, the Germans do not doubt that the Palestinians who live among them are likely to become a powder keg in the proper circumstances, but apparently the circumstances are not ripe for that. Right now the Palestinians are only a potentially dangerous factor.

#### Not out of Love for the Jews

For its part the German population does not pay much attention to the Palestinian minority. The PLO does not play an important role in the German consciousness. Awareness of the Middle East conflict is not particularly high--especially not of the Palestinian problem. Except for a few leftist publications, German newspapers do not dedicate much space to the Palestinian issue; they are satisfied with the obligatory news reports, such as of the PLO National Council in Amman a few weeks ago.

The PLO propaganda office in Bonn--which, by the way, does not have diplomatic status--doesn't overly exert itself. It hasn't made many contacts in the political arena, nor has it tightened existing contacts. The PLO men are not prominently received by senior politicians, like wise professional and church associations and political parties do not keep much in contact with them.

"Nevertheless, don't think that if well-known people shy away from meeting with PLO men, they do this out of concern for the purity of their political contacts," a German political expert emphasizes to me. "If they thought that it were possible to make political capital out of being sympathetic to the PLO, they would meet with PLO representatives." He thinks that the PLO does not have the capability to create sympathy for itself. "Among other things, the Germans do not have historical colonial ties with the Middle East, such as the British and French have," he said. Moreover, "In Germany they have not yet forgotten the murder of the Israeli sportsmen in Munich in 1972; even a citizen who doesn't remember this even at a particular time continues to view the PLO--and not only the PLO--negatively; the Palestinians are envisioned as a terrorist bloc."

Interest in the Palestinians has decreased to a large degree even in leftist circles. "Leftist opponents of the political establishment in Germany are nowadays occupied with the death of the forests, the quality of the environment and the political corruption in Germany itself rather than with Middle Eastern affairs," a German journalist confirms.

The wave of sympathy for the PLO among the German left reached its peak after the Yom Kippur War. There were then founded, mainly in the universities, joint working committees of students with PLO connections and their German counterparts. However, toward the end of the seventies this activity had already begun to subside. Today there is in actuality no permanent, public collaboration between the German left and PLO circles, although there are isolated incidents of anti-Israeli propaganda and of harassing Jewish students on campus. The biggest joint German-Palestinian event was, it seems, the protest demonstration (anti-Israel, of course) in Stuttgart, after the massacre in Sabra and Shatila. But it is estimated that only around 300-400 people took part in this demonstration.

Some Germans wonder why the remnants of the left, which sympathizes with the "Red Army FAction" terror organization which was mainly active in the 1970's, do not try to become involved with the Middle East issue within the framework of "the anti-Imperialist struggle." On the other hand, some point out that the collaboration between the German terrorists and the PLO was problematic even during its best period. It is said that the young German terrorists who were instructed in the PLO training camps in the Middle East, in many cases could not face up to the tough conditions which exist in these bases. According to these complaints, the Germans were even then portrayed by the Palestinians as being daydreamers, of weak character--and perhaps most importantly, as allies who were not capable of contributing to the anti-Israel struggle. If these assumptions are correct, they might explain why relations between the German terrorists and their Palestinian counterparts have cooled off.

Lately the German terrorists have carried out some new actions. The West German general prosecutor realized the necessity of warning of the possibility that terrorism in his country was likely to be on increase once more. The Germans will certainly hope that even if this warning comes true, the Palestinians will continue in their quite daily routine.

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SAUDI ARABIA

JPRS-NEA-85-074  
31 May 1985

MINISTER DESCRIBES VARIOUS ASPECTS OF UPCOMING 5-YEAR PLAN

Riyadh AL-YAMAMAH in Arabic 27 Mar 85 pp 3-13

[Interview with Planning Minister Hisham Nazir: "It Is Possible To Establish 300 Types of Industry from Ethylene to Which We Will Invite the Private Sector"]

[Text] This is a lush, rich conversation with his highness the minister of planning concerning this ambitious nation's fourth plan. The conversation extends in leisurely fashion over the texts of the plan, dealing with its precise details and giving frank, constructive answers to all preoccupations and searches for information around which it has arisen and around the concentration which the plan has placed on the Saudi individual, who represents the first and last concern of the plan and whom the plan is trying, as far as it is able, to introduce as a major gear in the cycle of execution and work and therefore the reaping of the fruit. The plan says that the government's role has not come to an end but that the role of the individual must begin so that it will be in balance and harmony with that of the government, and that the individual must rise up in order to shake the vestiges of indifference off his shoulder, because in its administration the fourth plan, after God, is based on him, for him, and through him. We cannot find a phrase to cover this plan which is more eloquent than the summarized statements the plan began with, citing the phrase "Saudi man is now called upon to leap over something greater than all the obstacles he transcended in the past: the place is here and the time is now."

Following this, we find that "the time is now" for reading the conversation, and "the place is here" for conversation rich in Shaykh Hisham Nazir's customary frankness.

AL-YAMAMAH: The fourth plan has concentrated on a group of ideas which cause it to be distinguished from other previous plans, such as the idea of making reductions in the volume of foreign labor. What means will lead to the realization of this sort of goal? In what type of labor will the plan be anxious to make reductions?

Nazir: We know that most foreign labor is concentrated in the construction sector and we expect, in the plan, that the growth of the construction sec-

tor will be negative (-2.8 percent); therefore, it is consequently necessary to make reductions in the labor in that. Most of the labor in which reductions will be made will be in this sector.

However, conversely, as a result of investments in the other sectors, as we envision it, including investment in industry and mining, no less than 374,000 new jobs will be created, most of which we hope to fill with Saudis over the 5-year period.

AL-YAMAMAH: Is the most recent expansion of opportunity based on reductions made in the construction sector?

Nazir: No. In reality, new jobs will be created and jobs will be reduced. Therefore we have balanced some with others. A deficit of 600,000 in foreign labor has resulted from that, and the Saudi labor will increase by 374,000.

AL-YAMAMAH: By what means will the plans seek to attain this goal -- training of young people or substitution?

Nazir: There is great emphasis on training and improvement of administrative techniques in a manner which will develop productive competence. You may perhaps have taken note of these through the budget, since the volume of expenditures has declined in a manner that will increase administrative competence.

AL-YAMAMAH: The public is not as aware of construction labor as of the class of servants and drivers. Do you have any views on making reductions in this type of labor?

Nazir: Foreign labor consists of different types. It includes labor which is connected to the contracts of foreign companies carrying out projects. Since most of the infrastructure has been built, the foreign labor in this sector must be reduced. There is a type of labor which is connected to the income of the "Saudi" individual and his level of spending. For this reason the plan has not addressed itself to that because it basically did not bring it in. However, we expect as a result of the balance which is now coming about in the kingdom on all levels, including the incomes of individuals, that there will be a sort of guidance with respect to private labor.

AL-YAMAMAH: We observe that the plan has concentrated on technical education and vocational training. However, in AL-YAMAMAH, a week ago, an issue was raised under the title "Saudis who have no work." When a person compares the substance of this issue with enthusiasm for vocational training, he becomes convinced that there were gaps in the previous plans and perhaps they have extended to the current plan, since the emphasis was placed on university education and areas of specialization for which there no longer is any need.

Since the fourth plan has concerned itself with the question of technical education and vocational training, has it found solutions in order to dampen the rush on universities in areas of specialization in which a surplus has been formed here?

Nazir: In every development plan, it is clear that the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia continued to be in need of qualified citizens in every area of specialization during the current stage. In spite of that, the development plans have specified a specific percentage which is to go to universities and another percentage for vocational training and technical education centers, and they have set out specific bases for granting incentives for the areas of specialization the country needs, going by our opinions in the plan, more than others. We have a conviction in principle that the university is not the only channel for satisfying people's cultural desires and is not the only means for changing their income level. Entering into areas of specialization for which the country's need has declined is the decision of individuals, and they have taken it. Neither the government nor the plan wishes to impose a specific area of specialization on people, but it does offer guidance and incentives.

AL-YAMAMAH: However, there is more than one way to limit university enrollment, such as defining percentages.

Nazir: This can be found in the fourth plan and it existed in the second and third plans, but the universities were not able to carry it out. The universities face contingencies and social circumstances which make adherence to percentages difficult.

AL-YAMAMAH: You mean intercession!

Nazir: The issue is not as simple as that. What is needed is the modification of the curriculum at the secondary level to pave the way for the application of this goal. Modification of the secondary curriculum is progressing.

AL-YAMAMAH: It has been observed that vocational training centers are spread about in the towns and villages, and this has drawn young people to enroll in them.

Nazir: In the major towns, the job opportunities are greater. Consequently, young people who are able to earn a good income prefer to go to the towns, provided that they enroll in vocational training and receive compensation. However, I consider that the vocational training centers in the villages are attractive because there are few alternatives to them, contrary to the towns, since centers of attraction are established in the latter which are in competition with the centers.

AL-YAMAMAH: We consider that the insistence on a university education lies within the category of "social prestige." The technical faculty has been established, and that might solve the problems. There, young people realize their desire to enter the university and the nation realizes its goals by drawing young people into rare areas of specialization.

Nazir: That is true. When we established the College of Petroleum and Minerals, we started it as an institute then changed its name to that of a college in order to encourage students to join it. However, I believe now that when a graduate of a vocational training center tastes the good flavor

of the receipt of credentials and good earnings, that will be a factor enticing other young people to enroll in these centers.

AL-YAMAMAH: My information has it that the number of people who apply to vocational training centers is greater than the people who are admitted to them. That, in my estimation, is a deficiency on the part of the institutes, since they are supposed to be spacious enough to give opportunities to all young people who are interested. The nation needs all these people's strength.

Nazir: The institutes are expanding now, but a change has occurred recently, one cause of which is the factories which have gone into operation in al-Jubayl and Yanbu' and the war factories. The young people who worked in these at the outset and became aware of the earnings they received have started to encourage their relatives and friends to work in them and this requires vocational training. The supply of training centers has increased in a manner which had not been common or expected. Therefore you find that about 60 percent of the people working in our factories in al-Jubayl and Yanbu' are Saudis.

AL-YAMAMAH: One of the goals of the new plan that is cited is an increased emphasis on diversification of the productive base industrially and agriculturally and in financial services. The question is: what quality of production has the citizen become content with in industrial, agricultural and other areas which you consider the nation will need in the coming 5 years?

Nazir: We are now in a new stage. We have basic factories producing the basic material, which is ethylene, and they sell it, but it is still a basic material (after crude oil, that is). It is possible to use ethylene and polyethylene, our studies say, in no fewer than 300 new industries which can be established. The methanol which is being produced now and marketed internationally from the kingdom enters into every manufactured product of a vital nature from books to furniture, cloth, pharmaceuticals and so forth.

We are facing broader opportunities to enter into these industries. Many of these industries need not great but rather relatively modest capital. Therefore the Saudi people should use this opportunity which has been provided. As for agriculture, we have tested ourselves in that and succeeded in producing eggs, poultry for eating, and wheat. We have become sufficient in all this. What is said is true, that the government has offered incentives for these products. The government offers incentives to establish this production, strengthen it and develop it. Therefore, we are turning the incentives into new products. Now we are calling for the production of vegetables, for example, and fruit, and the scope there is broad.

There is another sector, which is mining. The presence of minerals which are commercially exploitable has been established here. They can be produced as raw materials and can be processed. The goal is that we should not rely on a single source of income, that is, petroleum.

AL-YAMAMAH: The plan has specified 1 trillion approximately for the budgets covering the 5 years of the plan (200 billion riyals a year). Since there is

optimism that the current petroleum situation will not prevail, do you not consider that specifying 300 billion a year is a sort of advance admission that the economic situation in general will not improve?

Nazir: First of all, these figures can be changed. What the plan has specified is the minimum. However, we have introduced the system of programs, not projects, into this plan. In the light of the programs, we have accepted many reasonable projects on the basis of strategy but we have not allocated specific funds for them in the plan, in hopes that if earnings improve we will make allocations to them.

AL-YAMAMAH: We would like you to state what is meant by "programs."

Nazir: That means the rates of growth existing in the plan. The volume of spending specified in it, 1 trillion riyals, is connected to projects in programs which we call maximum priority projects. There are other projects which we consider reasonable but not of the same priority. Therefore we have not allocated funds to them. If earnings increase during the execution of the plan, we will introduce these projects and allocate funds to them within the programs.

AL-YAMAMAH: Can we infer that reductions will not be made in the 200 billion?

Nazir: The advantage of the plan, any plan, is in its flexibility. Without it, it will dry up and fall to pieces. Something like that happened to us in the first plan (1970). We had estimated the volume of spending at 45 billion riyals and we indeed did spend that. After 1970 petroleum income exceeded what we had estimated in the plan. We managed to exploit the new possibilities rapidly, because we had set out the plan flexibly, and spending came to 80 billion riyals.

AL-YAMAMAH: The major contractors' conditions have been relatively upset. What is the case with respect to small contractors; what will they do now?

Nazir: We said that the growth rate would decline by 2.8 percent. That does not mean that the building and construction sector would come to a stop. It means that the number of foreign companies connected to this sector would shrink.

AL-YAMAMAH: We are talking not about theory but about the actual situation.

Nazir: We, as a government, are anxious to break projects down into small segments so that they will be in keeping with the size of the Saudi contractors. Then we impose the condition on foreign companies which take projects beyond the Saudi contractors' scope that they give no less than 30 percent of each project to the Saudi contractors. However, that in exchange requires also of the Saudi contractors first of all that they be ready and their prices suitable and that they assume charge of the work themselves. Therefore I believe that as a result of government policy there is enough work for them.

AL-YAMAMAH: The current plan has emphasized shifting the responsibility for subordinates from the shoulders of the government to the shoulders of the citizen, in the sense of making him a productive human being. Has the plan provided the means for guaranteeing that this goal is realized?

Nazir: What resources lead to production, as far as human beings go? First of all, that they should be provided with qualifications through general education or training. The government has provided that, moreover, to every citizen without exception. Second of all, that they should be provided with financial resources after they have obtained qualifications through work in the public sector, which we do not encourage them to have forever, or through work in the private sector, if we have succeeded in following the specific policies.

What are the specific policies? They are the ones we talked about: stimulation of the productive sectors in industry, agriculture and mining. How can we stimulate them? In a number of ways. First of all, we have created the lending institutions and infrastructures and the material incentives for them (by reducing customs in the case of spare parts and equipment or by delaying taxes for a period of 10 years after production starts).

There now is extremely broad scope for the private sector to invest all these resources.

AL-YAMAMAH: In the field of industry, Saudi industrialists find that the government offers them facilities which might not be offered in another country -- a loan for 50 percent of the cost and land free of charge. After they go into production they find that the cost of production of competing imports is lower than their own production in spite of the facilities they have received from the government.

Nazir: Sometimes some foreign countries pursue flooding policies, and these policies must be combatted by similar ones. That is dishonorable competition. The means are numerous but I would like to go back to something that is more important than flooding: Saudi industry must be based on competence, cover the major portion of the market, take the rights of the consumer into consideration and be able to compete in the international context. If it is provided with these considerations, the government is prepared to protect it, but it will not protect it just because it is Saudi.

AL-YAMAMAH: Does that mean that the notion of protecting domestic industries is not pertinent now?

Nazir: It is pertinent sometimes. Some industries are protected. However, we do not protect any industry which has not met the conditions I mentioned previously.

AL-YAMAMAH: Who studies these conditions?

Nazir: The government and the Ministry of Industry. How for example can an industry which covers only 10 percent of market requirements be protected?

AL-YAMAMAH: If this industry meets the kingdom's needs but perhaps is functioning at a level of quality lower than its foreign competition, we consider that it also must be protected.

Nazir: Through this sort of solution, we might end up creating a trivial industry. We have said that our industry must be internationally competitive. The purpose is not to cover local consumption but to compete in the context of exports, because they bring the country hard currency.

AL-YAMAMAH: Do you believe that the foreign companies which deliberately flood our markets are operating at a loss?

The minister: Not just at a loss — indeed their governments sometimes give them export assistance.

AL-YAMAMAH: This means that the fault does not lie in the structure of Saudi industries, in terms of their cost.

Nazir: No, flooding exists. On some occasions the exporter has goods that are not turning over and he is failing to dispose of them. We have been faced with that in the case of cement and iron at the present time. Therefore, there are counterweapons to flooding policies which are independent of industry in general. We are concerned that our industries be based on a good foundation, but we must face up to flooding policies.

AL-YAMAMAH: There are some imported juices on which it is written: "Good for 2 years!" You know that the kingdom's climate and the circumstances of storage are sufficient to spoil them in 4 or 5 months. We can reduce the period of fitness to a degree where the Saudi consumer will be guaranteed suitable commodities. Secondly, this is a means for protecting local production, which is fresh.

Nazir: In reality, numerous methods exist. The Ministry of Commerce (the Consumer Protection Department) conducts concentrated campaigns to destroy all products which are not fit for consumption and fines their owners. However, at the same time, we must have a sort of awareness on the part of importers. There is another side to imports besides considerations of profit. I am assuming that the Saudi merchant has a patriotic sense which prevents him from inflicting harm on domestic industry.

AL-YAMAMAH: How is it that we do not stand up to foreign industries as they themselves stand up to the production of our factories in al-Jubayl and Yanbu'?

Nazir: We in the kingdom, in principle, believe in the free economy and believe that there should be no restrictions on trade inside our country or in dealings with others. We try in the international context to stress this policy and attract others to apply it. There are people who indeed do apply it and there are people who claim to believe in it and act in an opposite manner, as has been the case with the Saudi petrochemical industries. However, we are now at a negotiating stage in which we believe that we will be successful in the medium term. The reason for our optimism is simple, since

our imports from the European countries to which we export petrochemicals are much greater than the value of the petrochemicals we export to them. Consequently they have a real interest in having their exports to us continue to flow at the present levels.

AL-YAMAMAH: If negotiations with them do not lead to results, will the kingdom take steps toward dealing with them in similar fashion?

Nazir: I do not know. There is a story in every incident.

AL-YAMAMAH: Isn't the intent in the emphasis in the fourth plan on maintenance and operating aspects to pave the way for the establishment of a maintenance and operating corporation along the lines of SABIC?

Nazir: You mean the government?

AL-YAMAMAH: Yes.

Nazir: No, the government will not get into maintenance. Indeed, to the contrary, it wants to leave what is in the government's possession to the citizens to maintain. However, what I call for is the establishment of the greatest possible amount of maintenance and assembly companies combining with one another as much as possible to attempt to enter into relatively complex areas of maintenance, such as airport maintenance.

AL-YAMAMAH: Will the private sector's participation in mining investment, as the plan encourages it, be independent?

Nazir: Yes. Indeed, we give concessions, and in fact intend to have the greatest possible amount of this investment be done through the private sector.

AL-YAMAMAH: What is meant by changing economic theory, whenever that has been possible, in government expenditure investment decisions?

Nazir: This means that the goal in establishing a project is not just the performance of a service. Assume that I want to establish a desalination plant and want to connect it to homes and installations. My goal is not just connecting up a service; rather, it is to connect it in an economic fashion, at the lowest construction and operating costs.

AL-YAMAMAH: Cultural development, in our estimation, has not kept abreast of the economic development the kingdom has experienced, whereas the advancement of cultural activity is one of the goals of the fourth plan. What means will lead to the achievement of this goal?

Nazir: My answer to this question comes from the plan itself. The plan considers the nation's culture to be something "ethereal," non-material. Therefore, it has an extreme effect on all types of citizens' activities; it is not just connected to literature, arts and humane sciences but is also connected to traditions and the method of thinking which is reflected in the social system and on the individual's levels of behavior.

In the plan, we have written that literature and the arts are an end in themselves because they enrich the life process and that culture in general makes it possible to overcome the challenges arising from social change, reflects the spirit of mental openness and increasing awareness, encourages innovative thinking and improves the life process in its aesthetic and artistic areas.

However, I have said more than once that it is not possible or desirable to plan the culture of our country in the way in which planning is done for paved roads or agriculture, for example, because culture is a spontaneous process of the human mind, and the human mind reaches the peak of innovation when it is liberated from bureaucratic restrictions. Nonetheless, the plan spells out an important role for every activity in the government and the private sector which seems to contribute one way or another to enriching the cultural life of man.

AL-YAMAMAH: The bodies connected with cultural activity are numerous: the universities, the General Department of Youth Care, the Society of Culture and the Arts and the literary clubs. Isn't it possible to combine these efforts into a general institution for culture, or at least have them attached to a ministry which exists now, so that it will become the Ministry of Information and Culture, for example, or the General Department of Youth Care and Culture? What is meant that Layla's love should not become dispersed among many hearts, so that Layla will be lost and her heart split into pieces.

Nazir: Culture does not consist of reading, teaching and the theater per se. It consists of a group of activities which are spread about among all the areas of life of mankind. Therefore, if you try to combine it in a single body, you will kill it.

Therefore, personally I do not at all consider it appropriate that these bodies be combined in a single agency and I do not believe in restricting culture to an agency for which the orbit within which it will proceed will be spelled out. The cultural level has declined in some countries which have pursued this restrictive procedure.

AL-YAMAMAH: It appears that your excellency is trying to justify the existing situation, for a simple reason. What is the justification for having the Department of Museums subordinate to the Ministry of Education? What is the justification, for instance, in having the Society of Culture and the Arts connected to the General Department of Youth Care, in spite of my great esteem for all the efforts it is exerting to stimulate the cultural agencies which are connected to it? There also are the public libraries; the university libraries in all countries are subordinate to the universities for the sake of students and faculty. The ordinary citizen goes to the public libraries. I consider that these and others should be subordinate to a single agency which will be responsible for looking after cultural activity.

Nazir: I have been concerned to point out to you that this is my personal opinion and does not represent the view of many of my colleagues, whether they are in the government or outside it. My personal opinion is that an agency responsible for culture would be restrictive of culture.

AL-YAMAMAH: It appears that you mean culture in its innovative sense, such as poetry and painting, for example. However, we mean the administrative and organizational aspect. During cultural weeks, or the festival which his majesty the king will open this week, he asks the universities, the Ministry of Education, the Society of Culture and so forth to take part and offer what they have. Intense confusion arises when these agencies deal with one another in producing a cultural exhibition in the form it should assume. Do you consider that the confusion lies in administrative areas and their relationship to the body responsible for organizing the exhibition?

Nazir: Administrative solutions are a simple thing. There is something deeper than that. It is not permissible to hobble culture in the kingdom with bureaucratic restrictions. Culture is an expression of various activities of life and it is not permissible to constrain it with bureaucratic restrictions.

AL-YAMAMAH: Rumors state that the oil market in the coming summer months will suffer from a price collapse. Have you taken this point into consideration, as you set out the plan?

Nazir: Yes, we have calculated the income required for the plan and have found that it can be attained from an average production of 3.8 million barrels a day. That is a rate which is below what is being produced at present.

However, I foresee that in the last years of the plan the market will start to absorb greater quantities of oil.

AL-YAMAMAH: You have taken the volume into consideration. What about the prices?

Nazir: We have calculated this volume at a price of \$25.

AL-YAMAMAH: Doesn't a tendency exist to impose escalating taxes on businessmen with large incomes?

Nazir: There is no tendency to do that.

AL-YAMAMAH: The fourth 5-year plan came about in the midst of economic circumstances of the utmost complexity internationally. Has this been reflected on the magnitude of the plan's aspirations?

Nazir: Sometimes they have had an effect in a positive form. International unemployment has made it possible for the kingdom to obtain technical personnel easily and at appropriate material cost. As regards international dealings, what concerns us ourselves first of all in the kingdom is their consumption of energy, which increases our production of oil at good prices. We are also concerned about the rate of inflation in their midst, which is reflected on our imports from them. This is an important issue for us in the formative stage, because in order for us to be able to produce goods in quantities sufficient for us, we rely on imports. It is a fortunate coincidence that the negative influence on the oil market occurred after we had built our infrastructure.

AL-YAMAMAH: Do you expect the price of and demand for oil to go back where it was in previous years, during the leap forward?

Nazir: Some experts anticipate something like this in 1990. Indeed, they predict that a crisis will occur because of an increase in consumption over the volume of production. I personally anticipate a gradual improvement in the oil market, and I cannot confirm or deny the possibility that a crisis will occur. The kingdom's situation is very excellent, because most of the producing countries are in their final production stages, even some OPEC countries. The kingdom's reserves are enormous.

AL-YAMAMAH: Therefore you are optimistic?

Nazir: God willing. These are economic cycles. From 1959 to 1970 there was a recession in the oil market which compelled the producing countries to establish OPEC in order to preserve prices. The seventies witnessed a leap in demand for oil and in oil prices. They say that the 1973 war is what raised the price, but this is not true. They had escalated before 1973. There is no doubt that the crisis later helped the subsequent increase.

AL-YAMAMAH: In the social-philosophical context of the Saudi family and Saudi society, what is the plan's view on the subject of the structure of the Saudi family in coming years?

Nazir: The Saudi family is the focus of support in the structure of Saudi society. It is cohesive as a result of the glorious religious bond, parents' piety, affection for the children and the ties of the womb. However, what happens to the Saudi family is based on the behavior of the Saudi people. The behavior of the Saudi people depends on whether or not we are successful in achieving the fifth goal of the plan, which calls for creating working people who are truly productive. This task constitutes a great change. The government provides the people with the resources for a living -- educational credentials, health and jobs (in the government or in the private sector). If they produce more and excell, that is a personal bonus resulting from their effort and sweat. Therefore, the future of the Saudi family is contingent on their behavior -- their commitment to their basic (religious) values and their possibility for exploiting the opportunities available now as a result of the policy of the government.

AL-YAMAMAH: However, there is a group of intellectuals who are worried about the Western model that has been propounded in the various areas of the world on grounds that it represents the dominant civilization. They are worried about it as far as the Saudi personality goes, to the point where some of them accuse young Saudis of thinking in a Western manner although speaking Arabic!

Nazir: I reject the notion, which the Westerners are advancing themselves, that a civilization which excels in the material sense is of necessity able to bring down the other ones. On the other hand, it is not possible to take the results of the experiences of other nations in specific circumstances connected to those nations and apply them to a society which is totally alien to them. It is like someone who tries to apply the results of the

Iranian experience to the Saudi experience. Moreover, the application of some models will not of necessity lead to corresponding results in two different societies, such as Western society and Arab society.

I will give you examples with respect to the family.

The Western experience is founded basically on the separation of religion and the state. Therefore, the cause of what has happened to the Western family was not the industrial revolution or the forward material leap so much as it was one of the causes of the statutes and laws founded on secular bases.

We in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia have education provided, incomes have risen, and we have become intermixed with different cultures, Eastern and Western, but the system of inheritance here is still derived from Islamic law and we still have the system of expenses which is connected to Islamic law, as well as the system of marriage, divorce and social care.

AL-YAMAMAH: This is in the context of the laws. We are talking about the context of behavior.

Nazir: What I would like to say is that when a Westerner abandons his mother, there is nothing in the laws of his society to compel him to spend on her. Islamic law makes spending an obligation for Moslems of a similar level of education and a similar material level because there is no separation between religion and the state. This issue is very important as regards development in our country. When we talk, in the plan, about preserving Islamic values, we do so not arbitrarily but rather out of belief. Your commitment to Islamic values is what saves you from the social fragmentation which has occurred in the West, which, to repeat, I do not believe has necessarily happened as a result of the industrial revolution. I believe that its basis is the separation of religion and the state and it is not permissible for us to apply the results and the points brought forth by development in Western society and expect to see it in the same form or even the same magnitude in our society. Here one cannot make a comparison because of the radical difference between the two societies. This is an erroneous comparison between the two experiences and it has been a cause of many wrongful analyses concerning the experience of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, because they are analyses which are fundamentally based on the ideals and conclusions of a society which is totally different from our Saudi society, which is going through a stage parallel to that which Western society went through but in different circumstances.

AL-YAMAMAH: Since we are talking about the Saudi family and the Western model which has been propounded in the whole world now, even in countries which are very remote from the West, this leads us to another examination of Saudi society, which is that because of all the things which Saudi society imports in the form of the things produced by technology which serve it in its daily life, it is said that the transfer of the experience and the results cannot be a neutral one; this technology which we transfer, or which we buy, cannot be neutral; rather, it must bring some things along with it which are related to the behavior and ways of thinking of human beings. We

cannot stop these things. Although this question might be premature, when do you expect that the Saudis will shift from the stage of purchasing technology to the stage of innovating technology or at least subordinating it to their needs?

Nazir: I believe that this issue is very important. Subordinating technology is the criterion in the case of the countries which will grow and others which will become further emmired in their place. Japan, for example, when the industrial revolution first began, imported technology. Japanese innovation is not so much produced by its industry at the present time as derived from its resources for subordinating technology to the service of Japanese society and therefore the export of advanced technology to the world. Therefore, here comes the point we talked about a little before, which is the orientation of students here, for example, and their training in order to enter into specific studies and orientations which will enable the young people of the Kingdom and its institutions to graduate scholars who will be able to use the good laboratories which exist and will be able to subordinate all the imported technology to the need of Saudi society. This will also depend on will and on the people whom we consider the cream of the country and the chosen elite, the professors of the universities, who must put their learning to work and develop these things.

AL-YAMAMAH: Let us go back to the issue of oil and its effects. Do the combined declines in oil production and oil prices have an effect on the projects which the fourth development plan were to have comprised? More specifically, is it true that there are projects which have been cancelled or postponed, as some foreign papers have stated?

Nazir: As regards the fourth plan, there are two types of projects in it. First, it contains 1,444 new projects valued at 8 billion riyals. These are all entirely new projects. It also has no less than 1,700 projects or parts of projects which have been transferred to it and whose execution will be completed during the third and fourth plans; these are valued at about 209 billion riyals. That means more than 3,200 projects in the plan, both projects being completed and new projects, with a value of more than 289 billion riyals. Thus, the plan is full of new projects and projects under completion. We believe that by virtue of the decline in the levels of prices by which the bids are being presented -- and by the way the decline in the prices of some of the bids in the latest stages range from 30 to 50 percent in some cases from their originally estimated prices -- that is, there is a possibility that we will be able, through this sum which has been allocated, to carry out more than the number of projects specified, because this has been calculated at the current levels.

AL-YAMAMAH: This means that there were some disruptions as regards previous dealings with foreign companies. This is an accusation, or let us say an observation, because it appears that the foreign companies adjust their prices to the income level of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. In the past, the contracts were large and the bids were also large. Now the contracts are small, with a desire for employment, and the bids are small although inflation has increased all over the world.

Nazir: The issue is in reality one of supply and demand. When the supply of projects on the market is greater than the capability of the people carrying out the projects, they raise the prices, because that means that they must bring in a new force to carry out these projects. When their force exceeds the volume of the supply in the market, they of necessity compete suicidally over projects, because they want at least to pay their administrative expenditures. The existence of a decline in prices is a very normal thing. In addition, there were some excesses at times in prices in some projects. However, as I have said, these are governed by the matter of supply and demand.

AL-YAMAMAH: Therefore the drop in the prices or even volume of oil has not had any effect on the projects.

Nazir: To the contrary, this has helped us a great deal as far as competence is concerned in some cases. It means, for instance, that we have reduced the volumes of some projects without having service affected. What does this mean? It means that we have been able to increase the competence of the project. For example, if you have a sanitation project in the cities and if you could perform the same job with a smaller amount of labor, what is there to prevent it? Indeed, to the contrary, that would increase your competence in carrying out the project and reduce your expenses.

AL-YAMAMAH: Your excellency the minister, it has been the government's intention to provide electricity for all the areas of the kingdom. The recent disruption in oil prices has occurred, and the desire still exists on the part of the government as far as electricity goes, but it seems that it is proceeding with a very slow plan. What is electricity's share in the plan, overall?

Nazir: As regards electricity, there is the completion of the electric distribution systems to serve 828,000 new users.

Electricity is now being delivered to close to about 10 million people, and this is a large percentage. A new user does not necessarily mean a single person. Electricity serves more than one person in a single home. Moreover, why should we assume that development is connected to the fourth plan or is connected to the third plan? Development is a process which continues forever. That is, there is a possibility, when we reach the last group to which electricity will have to be brought, that we will need to renovate the machines and develop the first group to which electricity was introduced.

Therefore the matter is an ongoing one and is not connected to the 5 years which are the life of any plan. These 5 years consist of programs within a long-range government program whose goal is for every citizen to be educated, for every citizen included in the programs to be provided with all services, including electricity, water, telephones and health service, and for there to be a job available for every citizen. In order to realize these goals, many years must elapse.

AL-YAMAMAH: Your excellency the minister, now that we have attained certain levels of electric service, could we also talk about the telephone, television and services?

Nazir: I will give you some of the things which you can expect in the fourth plan. These are that we will finish putting eight new desalination plants into operation, will start production in the gold mines, will increase agricultural production and therefore double the storage capacity of the grain silos to 1.8 million tons, will also start to put five major petrochemical plants into operation so that the number of petrochemical plants will come to 13, then will complete the electricity distribution systems to serve 828,000 new users, will lend out 60 billion riyals to individuals and organizations through various funds, will expand the various road systems to more than 115,000 kilometers, will add 550,000 new numbers to the telephone system and will fill about 100,000 housing units which are empty at the present time. These are simple examples of the anticipated economic activity.

These will all create a growth equivalent to 4 percent per year on the average and 2.9 percent on the average a year in the non-petroleum sector.

AL-YAMAMAH: The second strategic basis of the fourth development plan includes the adoption of the policy of paving the way for the private sector to engage in many economic tasks in the country. What is the purpose behind that and what are your expectations regarding the results of the application of this sort of approach?

Nazir: I would now like to state to you the sentence with which the plan began:

"Saudi man is now called upon to leap over something greater than all the obstacles he transcended in the past. The place is here and the time is now." This is because all resources are available, the capabilities of the structure are at their optimum level, and the auxiliary material capabilities and incentives exist through the existing organization. Young Saudis now are developing and training better than in the course of the past 15 years. The resources for the participation of Saudi labor are now greater than our resources in the past. Therefore we believe that we must take steps in addition to the basic one, which is to reduce reliance on the export of crude oil as a sole source of income, to lessen reliance on government spending as a basic motive force for the economy in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Therefore we want to create new instruments of production by means of the private sector. All over the world we find that the countries which feel the presence of real welfare are countries in which real production takes place by means of the people and not through government spending. Now, in addition to the duties the government has carried out in the past, we want even to abandon some things the government is engaging in now for the private sector, and this sector must exploit these resources carefully, seriously and with a true desire to take part in national production.

AL-YAMAMAH: The strategy of the fourth plan included a new objective which the previous ones did not contain. That is the realization of economic integration among the Cooperation Council countries. Does this mean that there is coordination in this area among the council countries?

Nazir: Fortunately, the issuance of the fourth development plan in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has been accompanied by the ministerial council's

agreement to the strategy of planning and development which the planning ministers of the Cooperation Council countries set out. What is now desired of the Cooperation Council countries which do not have agencies is that they create such agencies, and that others which have agencies and have not yet completed the instruments of planning set out these plans in accordance with the strategy to which agreement has been given.

AL-YAMAMAH: Will there be coordination between these plans and that of the kingdom?

Nazir: Yes.

AL-YAMAMAH: Does your excellency expect that the future might bring us a joint Gulf development plan?

Nazir: At least they will participate in the broad outlines of the plan.

AL-YAMAMAH: How do you view the economic effect of the plan for economic balance which the Ministry of Defense and Aviation is adopting? Will that be a prelude to the adoption by other ministries of these massive projects to the same end?

Nazir: I believe that this is the rendition in concrete form of a task which is greater than the basic task of the Ministry of Defense and Aviation, that is, the task of defense. We say that we must exploit the resources of the armed forces we have here for tasks which are greater than those of defense, such as training, for example. We have found that war manufacture is one of the most important sectors of production we have, because it is not just founded on war production but also has made a great effort with respect to the training of Saudis, and we view the basis of this project as a great resource which will help in the tasks of industrialization.

AL-YAMAMAH: It is noted that the strategy of the plan has neglected to mention the 30 percent share which has been stipulated Saudi contractors are to have in projects. Does this mean the elimination of this percentage or a review of its magnitude?

Nazir: Not at all. It has not been eliminated. It is mentioned in more than one place in the plan and is one of the things whose execution will be carefully monitored.

AL-YAMAMAH: The plan has stipulated that subsidies are to be guided. Is this a step toward the total abrogation of subsidies?

Nazir: Guiding subsidies does not mean eliminating them. Guidance means that the subsidies will be directed to the right places in the right quantities. The goal in subsidies is to stimulate something, and therefore subsidies are directed toward that. In the event the goal of subsidization is achieved, the subsidies will be directed toward another area, in terms of quantity or place. Guiding subsidies does not of necessity mean eliminating them.

AL-YAMAMAH: Perhaps it is a coincidence that the declaration of the fourth development plan is taking place at the same time as the start of

international youth year. We find that this is a chance to wonder about the goals and tendencies of the plan as far as the youth sector is concerned.

Nazir: For your information, the inhabitants of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia tend to be people who are young in age, and the society of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is a young one. Therefore, hope arises that there will be productive, fruitful work in the future, because that basically depends on young people. I believe that the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has done much for young people and do not view this matter from the athletic angle only, or even the cultural angle. Who are the schools for? Who are the training centers for? Who are the universities for? They in reality are basically for young people. Indeed, to the contrary, I do not believe that there is any place in the world where the government gives young people graduating from the university compensation to help them start their lives, apart from the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

It gives them loans by which they build homes and it gives them loans to get married. I believe that the time has come for the young people of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia to provide the results of this care, that is, to pay their people and their family and their country with the results of all this care the government has given them.

AL-YAMAMAH: Deposits are accumulating in banks there which exceed 70 billion in value. These deposits are not used, or are used to finance export and import activities only. Why don't you organize these deposits by directing them to development investments?

Nazir: One of the things the plan stresses in stimulating the private sector is an emphasis on fiscal activity, which is growing by 9 percent a year; that is what is meant by fiscal services. That is, the banks and investments are what is meant by this activity and growth.

AL-YAMAMAH: In glancing rapidly at the three plans which have elapsed, what are the most conspicuous goals which it has been possible to achieve, and the goals which have not been achieved?

Nazir: We can look at the issue from a number of angles.

I believe and am fully convinced that the decisions the government of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia took 15 years ago or over the course of the past 15 years as far as economic and social development in the kingdom are concerned were wise ones, and experience has proved that they were pertinent, in the sense that our leaders were farsighted in endorsing these decisions.

The second point regards goals, which are divided here into two groups, a group which can be measured, tangible quantitative goals such as the construction of roads, the number of factories, and the number of schools and desalination plants -- the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is almost one of the few countries of the world which has carried out most, if not all, of its tangible goals which are to be found in its development plans -- and then there are the intangible goals which are related to quality, such as the quality of education. That is, having built schools, we cannot however pass judgment

at this stage on the quality of education. The same is the case regarding the training curricula: are these the desired curricula for serving our purpose or do they need development? The same thing applies to our health services. What are their real levels? I believe that they have been achieved with the same ambitions toward which we have striven.

However, the results in the case of the intangible things appear only after many years. However, what cannot be doubted is that the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has produced a very rich experience, our performance is developing year after year, by very great margins, and the reason for that is that our experience has been enriched over the years of execution.

AL-YAMAMAH: Do you consider, your excellency the minister, that there have been negative points?

Nazir: Of course. The negative points can be broken down into a number of categories. Some of these are the result of a lack of experience, some are the result of enthusiasm and some are the result of behavior. As regards the lack of experience, in the first stage of the execution of projects, our presentation of the specifications and our evaluation of costs were confused; we improved on that greatly subsequently, because we learned from experience. I am talking in the context of the government and the private sector, so that we can discuss our experience as a nation. You now have for example existing commercial facilities and idle commercial capacities resulting from some disruptions in the evaluation of requirements. Therefore investment was made at a time when it would have been possible for it to have been directed to something else. As regards the cost and great volumes of projects, some of them were the product of a lack of experience or even a lack of knowledge on some occasions of the prices of materials in the international context. On some occasions people exploited us; for example, the international pharmaceutical companies sold medicines to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia at higher prices than they sold medicines to Jordan, Egypt or other Arab countries in the same area.

AL-YAMAMAH: What, however, your excellency the minister, are the negative features which have come about among the Saudi people?

Nazir: We have said that there are two groups of negative features, one related to lack of experience and the other related to enthusiasm. A third group is related to personal behavior. Some people have imagined that the bounties which God bestowed on us are a permit to engage in many things or relinquish certain values which constitute part of our being. The bounties must be received with thanks and not by misbehavior. Many people for example have exerted great effort in accumulating material things and have neglected direct supervision over their children. We have talked a great deal about leaving the upbringing of children to governesses and maid-servants, but we must abstain from paying for this personal behavior in the section on development.

AL-YAMAMAH: Development has led to a rise in incomes?

Nazir: That is correct, but many people have not let their interest in improving and increasing their levels influence something which is more important than the improvement of levels, I mean the upbringing of their children.

AL-YAMAMAH: Since you are aware of that sort of negative feature, might we understand from this that the fourth plan has sought to eliminate them?

Nazir: In the fourth plan, we talk about this subject most clearly and try to point out the negative features. More than that, we are still demanding that the media, including the press, play a real role. In the fourth plan we have set aside a special chapter, which we have called "issues," which addresses itself to the issues in various sectors, the sector of education and others, and have pointed to it and hope that the media will study these issues with care and try to spread about sufficient awareness.

The fourth plan in reality is connected to man, because for the first time we are venturing on the draft of the plan with more emphasis on man than on projects in it. In this plan we call on citizens to invest and benefit from the facilities which have been built. In the plan, we call on the private

sector and university professors to develop technology to serve society. Then we call on the information sector to provide enlightenment for the citizens through the issues we set down. Therefore one of the points we refer back to is that man is the means and the goal of development. We had been making this statement in theoretical form at the beginning, but now we have entered the practical stage of the application of this theoretical subject. The government, having played its full role in providing care, is now occupying the role of a person taking an examination who wants to discern the results of the studies he has engaged in over the past 15 years and the extent of his ability now to take this examination and pass beyond it. Therefore, I said, at the beginning of my conversation with you, that we have been called upon to leap over all obstacles: the place is here in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the time is now.

Some people are afraid that the private sector here does not have sufficient experience, but this is not true. When we started the development projects in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia as a country, we did not have experience and did not have a workforce. Among the things in which they have indicated that development has been a failure is that there is no trained human force in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia; nonetheless, we have succeeded in transcending the experience, and our proof is in the ability to transcend the coming stage, which we will enter with full confidence, not only from the standpoint of the volume of oil production and oil prices -- otherwise, we will find ourselves confined to a very narrow area and also will be proving that we have not gained awareness from the study. I say that we have a real experience in which we have succeeded in the past 15 years, and with God's permission we will be able to pass beyond the coming stages if we can master them properly and extricate ourselves from dependence on government spending. The citizens have a conviction in the need to guide and avoid extravagance and spending in areas which do not have priority so that we can help ourselves achieve balance and attain the right quantities for our country. I have not seen this in Europe or America. The workers in Europe hold

strikes anytime their salaries drop and create problems. Praise God, here the people encourage balance.

AL-YAMAMAH: Your excellency the minister, in a conversation with you last year or the year before we pointed out that there was some anxiety about the reaction but the result turned out to be better than had been expected beforehand. Is that possibly because the guidance policy came about gradually, for example?

Nazir: I believe that the next stage will be easier. We are optimistic about the citizens' ability to grasp this policy, which ultimately is in their interests and therefore the interests of the nation.

AL-YAMAMAH: That is, as if it is development for the citizen so that he can move from a position of dependence, that is, so that we can move on from the condition of a dependent citizen to the role of a productive one.

Nazir: That is exactly the way it is.

AL-YAMAMAH: In the stage of transformation from building and construction to the stage of production, what will the government's role be?

Nazir: We state that the citizen's role has begun, but we do not say that the government's role has ended. Rather, we want equal participation. In the previous stage, the government's participation was almost dominant, and we now want equal participation. The government will continue to offer aid and will continue to offer services and perform its duties. Indeed, it will develop and expand these duties. However, we now want to match them with some actual participation on the part of the citizens.

AL-YAMAMAH: What is the growth rate in the fourth plan?

Nazir: It is 4 percent, and 2.9 percent in the private non-petroleum sector.

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CSO: 4404/303

SYRIA

AL-BA'TH ON ISRAELI-U.S. TIES, NATO MANEUVERS

JN220915 Damascus Domestic Service in Arabic 0345 GMT 22 Apr 85

[Press review]

[Text] Under the headline "The Crux of the Conflict in the Region," AL-BA'TH says: The U.S. administration often seems confused about how to deal with events in the Arab region, which cannot be dissociated from what is going on all over the world. Nevertheless, the Arab region's situation has rare special characteristics because the conflict in the region has to do with right and wrong and takes place between those who have rights and foreign invaders who occupied the land and covet more.

In their occupation and ambitions, they relied on a full partner, who extended and is extending to them all means and tools to serve their wrongdoing. This U.S. partner, despite the many years of support for Israel and despite its experience in inventing methods for political and military aggression, seems to be at a loss on how to deal with the region's events. It sends one envoy after another and in between military vessels arrive in Arab waters and infantry units are sent to the bases that are deployed on Arab territories. Despite the many envoys and the military units, results take it back to square one because the conflict is still between right and wrong.

What new things does the U.S. administration have at its disposal? Certainly not Murphy's current tour of the region. The new thing is the wide NATO maneuvers that will start in the Mediterranean the day after tomorrow. Is it not eye-catching that these maneuvers accompany the U.S. envoy's tour of the region on the one hand and the tripartite summit among Husni, Husayn, and Qabus in Aqaba waters on the other?

CSO: 4400/128

SYRIA

COMMENTARY ON CURRENT SITUATION IN LEBANON

JN191400 Damascus Domestic Service in Arabic 1130 GMT 19 Apr 85

[Station commentary]

[Text] Ladies and gentlemen, Lebanon's enemies made a big mistake when they went too far in their errors and believed that the Lebanese arena was open for their moves and plans. Every time Lebanon's enemies have attempted to benefit from a certain disruption or a local event, the reply has always been in the interest of Lebanese hopes and aspirations. Such attempts have always worked as signs of plans and actions arranged by the Zionist organs that are U.S. allies. Damascus need not reiterate its stands toward Lebanon. It will not be indifferent to those who are seeking and have sought to turn the Lebanese arena into an arena that would deprive Lebanon of its Arab identity or affect the efforts to save it from suffering and liberate its South from the invaders.

The current stage does not concern only Lebanon, because it is the stage of the imperialist moves. It is important to reply to this move in order to uproot it and expose it as a hostile action and an octopus that has several arms in more than one Arab arena. The Lebanese people's national demands are part of the Arab nation's pan-Arab demands. This makes closing the Lebanese security file an inevitable need dictated by pan-Arab duty and by the requirements of the battle against the enemies of Lebanon and Arabism.

It has become clear that the Zionist invaders have created some sides who adopt Israel's ideology and policy in Lebanon. These sides are using all their reserves after their military invasion has failed to subjugate Lebanon to the Israeli trusteeship and to the hostile course of the NATO-U.S. alliance. This in itself is an Israeli admittance of impotence and inability to confront the Lebanese determination to challenge and to liberate. However, all this does not mean that Syria will allow the renegades and agents to disrupt the march that could not be stopped by the vessels of the 6th U.S. Fleet and all the means and methods of treachery and deception that the Zionists have exercised since their invasion of the Lebanese territory. Syria believes that the unity of all the Lebanese nationalists, with all their factions and trends, is the most decisive force facing this plot, which has many objectives and sides. If the deviationists who have betrayed the will of the people and the nation have used rumors in order to cover their deviation and treason and as a pretext for entering Lebanon, then they must realize that the Lebanese people are the most concerned about their territory and homeland, and that Syria backs and supports

them until the new Lebanon is achieved in accordance with the will of the Lebanese themselves.

When the enemies of Lebanon and Arabism believe that they can divert Syria from confronting the reactionary-Zionist-U.S. moves by renewing the fighting in Lebanon and disrupting the nationalist resistance role in southern Lebanon--when those enemies believe this, then they are being misled, because Syria's battle is the battle of an entire nation, regardless of the number of arenas. It is true that Syria will hasten to close the Lebanese file, but it is also true that this will be at the expense of Lebanon's soil and independence, and the security of its citizens. It is true that Syria acts wisely, but it is also true that it will not hesitate to adopt the decision that would protect Lebanon and its sons from the crimes of the renegades--Israel's allies and satellites--regardless of the means, as long as what is required is to protect Lebanon and as long as this protection is part of the comprehensive battle to liberate the usurped Arab soil.

Damascus advises that no door be opened to U.S. diplomacy that is indifferent to the Arab right and existence. At the same time, Damascus will not compromise any Lebanese nationalist demand, regardless of how small the demand. Moreover, its reply will only be in harmony with its firm and principled stand, and with its serious commitment to liberating southern Lebanon and all the occupied Arab territories. This is out of Damascus' concern about its affiliation and destiny, and its concern about struggler leader Hafiz al-Asad's saying that liberation is a fateful objective, and that heroism and martyrdom are our means to liberation and victory.

CSO: 4400/128

SYRIA

PRESS ON LEBANESE SECURITY SITUATION

JN270711 Damascus Domestic Service in Arabic 0345 GMT 27 Apr 85

[Press review]

[Text] Under the headline "Damascus Agreement Is Guarantee for Saving Lebanon," AL-THAWRAH says in its editorial: The Damascus agreement is considered a basic and important step for strengthening the Lebanese national stand, solidifying a serious approach to bolster security and stability, and blocking the way to Israel and its agents as well as those involved in its plans. All efforts at this stage must be concerted and devoted to insuring security, reassurance, and stability for all Lebanese, and to continuing the firm struggle to force the Israeli occupation forces to withdraw from all Lebanese territories without any restrictions or conditions. Therefore, the disruption of the security situation and the attempts to restore the atmosphere of war and fighting will under no circumstances serve Lebanon. These attempts will only serve Israel's plans. In most cases, these attempts are actually inspired by Israel. For it is not a coincidence that Israel's agents are trying to undermine the security situation while the Lebanese arena is witnessing intensive measures to insure security and stability and to block the way to the Israeli enemy and its agents, who are lying in wait for Lebanon and trying to seek vengeance by committing more massacres and sometimes instigating sedition and fighting.

Israel and its agents realize that the Lebanese people and their national resistance are determined--and have in fact gone a long way--to inflict complete and final defeat on Israel, its agents, and those involved with it, including the deviationist 'Arafatist clique. Thus, Israel is trying through its forces and tools to obstruct Lebanon's firm steps to liberate its territory from Israeli occupation and achieve accord among its sons. This fact, which is understood by the Lebanese, should serve as a strong incentive for all Lebanese to place higher national and pan-Arab interests above all other considerations and to take every step to strengthen the national stand and support the Lebanese national resistance--this noble bright phenomenon in the history of Lebanon and the Arab nation today which is using the blood of its sons to write the most splendid pages of heroism and sacrifice in contemporary Arab history.

Syria, which stands alongside the Lebanese people and their national resistance, will continue to give all possible support to expedite the accord and liberation process in the Lebanese arena, so that Lebanon will fully recover,

surmount its tribulation, and resume its natural cultural role in its Arab duty to Lebanon and its people stems from the bonds of fraternity and common destiny. Therefore, this duty is part of the battle against the enemies of Lebanon and the Arab nation, including imperialists, Zionists, and spiteful agents.

[JN270755] TISHRIN says in its editorial: The results of the Lebanese national and political leaders' meeting in Damascus are in tune with the gravity of the situation. They take into consideration all aspects of the big plot and form the main basis for a comprehensive national resolution of the crisis. This is what has been requested. Therefore, what is urgently needed now is to immediately implement the agreement in order to block the way to those suspect forces that are trying to infiltrate and undermine the national ranks by misleading slogans, and to create the circumstances that will enable Lebanon to devote its entire resources against the one enemy that is occupying the land and dreaming of Lebanon's destruction. All honest national forces should back the national resistance--this sacred phenomenon which the Lebanese people have produced to liberate Lebanon.

Needless to say, the accomplishment of this noble national task and the implementation of the Damascus statement's decisions will quickly close the Lebanese file, and will enable Syria to devote itself to accomplishing other very urgent and pressing pan-Arab issues that threaten the future of the entire nation. Syria wants to use all of its efforts and weight to confront the plans that are now being charted to liquidate the Palestine question. These plans are now going through the most serious stages in Amman and Tel Aviv with the blessing of the renegade capitals.

Perhaps we can now see more clearly the organic link between the Lebanese crisis and the U.S. moves, and also see the significance of closing the Lebanese file so that we can contain and abort the plot. Once it has put out the small fires around it, Syria will be in a better position to extinguish any bigger fire. Syria will be able to foil any serious plot such as the one now being concocted in the renegade capitals, just as it has foiled all previous plots and plans. The leader of the national Hafiz al-Asad once said that there will only be what the Arab nation wants, and there will only be Arab decisions on Arab affairs and the region. This is what has actually happened.

CSO: 4400/128

SYRIA

TISHRIN HIGHLIGHTS IMPORTANCE OF LEBANESE UNITY

JN201422 Damascus SANA in Arabic 0830 GMT 20 Apr 85

[Text] Damascus, 20 Apr (SANA)--In its editorial today, TISHRIN asks: Is it logical to dissociate Murphy's tour and what he is arranging for the Palestinian cause in Amman and Tel Aviv from what is happening in Lebanon? The paper adds: If we keep in mind the aims of the United States and Israel and the stages they have covered to liquidate the cause, we will understand the background and the motives for what is happening in Lebanon and the role of the capitulatory settlement parties, particularly the deviationist cliques which have sold out their cause.

TISHRIN adds: The partitioning of Lebanon is an old Israeli dream the United States has now adopted. It is quite clear that the conspirators are putting pressure to make partition a fait accompli. The paper asserts: Undoubtedly, the conspiracy is grave and the preplanned objectives are very dangerous. Their goal is to crush and destroy Lebanon. However, the ability to contain and foil them is completely available. The paper adds that liquidating those who foment riots, those who conspire against Lebanon and against all the national ranks, and those who serve Israel is an urgent task which will enable a unified Lebanon--people, national forces and government--to proceed toward the south; to provide all the requirements for complete liberation; and to support the brave national resistance in its honorable and heroic struggle against the Zionist enemy and its agents, on the basis of an integrated trend which clearly differentiates the agents from the patriots and those who are honest.

TISHRIN adds: Renegade and agent Arab parties have a basic interest in what is happening in Beirut and Sidon, even though they do not directly support what is going on there and try to conceal the preplanned role they are assuming in the conspiracy to liquidate the pan-Arab cause in general. The paper affirms that the Lebanese people have become aware of this fact, and they must uncover all the roles and all the participants in this filthy conspiracy against the unity of Lebanon and its Arab affiliation.

TISHRIN concludes: Syria and all its force will side with Lebanon, its people, and its national forces in their struggle to liquidate all the agent symbols and the gangs which are conspiring against Lebanon and its Arab affiliation. Syria will not hesitate to provide all that is asked of it in order to carry out this noble pan-Arab task.

CSO: 4400/128

SYRIA

**TISHRIN ON LEBANESE NATIONAL RECONCILIATION**

JN211026 Damascus SANA in Arabic 0730 GMT 21 Apr 85

[Text] Damascus, 21 Apr (SANA)--In a comment today, TISHRIN affirms: The road to Lebanese salvation lies in national reconciliation and that there is no future for any party except through reconciliation. All circumstances are available to push the reconciliation march ahead despite the dissension that we witness from time to time. The paper adds: The Christian ranks represented by the last Bkirki conference has underscored reconciliation and Arab affiliation option. The Islamic ranks have also stressed and will continue to stress the necessity for reconciliation. The patriotic ranks have also unanimously agreed on reconciliation, achieving aspired reforms and mobilizing the internal front to guarantee toppling those who reneged against the reconciliation which is the desire of all Lebanese. TISHRIN affirms that both Lebanon and Syria are concerned about reconciliation. In fact it is a Syrian strategic objective by virtue of the two countries' close relationship and common security links.

TISHRIN says: From this perspective, Syria, which has sponsored the reconciliation march and encouraged it and is still encouraging all parties to overcome their differences, has no choice but to continue exerting efforts and to alert all the Lebanese parties to what is really happening and to the basic aims behind inciting seditions and fighting which primarily serve the Israeli enemy and its agents. These aims also aim at dealing a blow to pan-Arab steadfastness undermining the victories of the national resistance, and covering up the suspect moves of the Jordanian-Palestinian front.

TISHRIN concludes: Confronting the partitioning and dissension trends in the Lebanese arena is a primary duty and there is no alternative to a unified Lebanese stand and a unified Syrian-Lebanese stand to confront and foil what is happening and disclose its aims and consequently to enhance the security of Lebanon--citizen and homeland.

CSO: 4400/128

SYRIA

#### AL-HASAKAH'S 1985 BUDGET REVIEWED

Damascus TISHRIN in Arabic 30 Jan 85 p 3

[Text] The directorates of financial affairs and planning for the province completed putting the final touches on a budget and work plan for the official agencies here for the current 1985 year.

The director of financial affairs spoke openly with a reporter for TISHRIN about preparation of the regular budget, saying that a number of proclamations and decrees have been issued by the prime minister's office, the Ministry of Local Administration and the Ministry of Finance, in accordance with which the sections of the budget were prepared. A proclamation from the prime minister stipulates that when the new annual budget is prepared it provide funds equal to the level from the previous year plus 6.04 percent. Some directives also appeared in decree number 159 (m.q.), dated 11 Jun 1984, from the Ministry of Local Administration.

The director of financial affairs continued, saying that during the previous year a number of decrees were received from the Ministry of Finance, beginning with number 120 of 19 Jun 1984 and ending with number 415 of 22 Nov 1984, in addition to document number 29141/1-25 of 22 Nov 1984.

154 Million

According to these messages, the funds available to the province of al-Hasakah amount to 154,989,000 pounds, distributed in the following way:

Section One: 128,264,000 pounds.

Section Two: 25,590,000 pounds.

Section Five: 1,135,000 pounds.

There is a column of the study of the needs which our province has presented to the central offices to cover the revenue deficit of some

of the agencies of the province, including the directorates of technical services, education, health, agriculture and transportation and the secretariat of the province.

The deficit amounts to 24,822,000 pounds. To date, only 17,170,000 pounds have been authorized, to cover payment of wages and salaries. The remainder is still subject to research and study by the Ministry of Local Administration and the Ministry of Finance.

On this basis, then, the provision of the remaining amount has not been completed, so the draft ordinary budget for the province of al-Hasakah will be limited to only 156 million pounds. This is after the addition of the 6.04 percent increase over the previous budget of 1984 decreed in the proclamation of the prime minister. It is distributed in the following way:

Section One: 77 million pounds for wages, salaries and other compensations.

Section Two: 78 million pounds for transportation, transport, fuel, electricity, maintenance, rent and entertainment.

Section Five: 1 million pounds to meet the requirements of the public treasury and requirements arising from guarantees of the state and the bureaus.

#### The Bases

Before we review the province's plan for the current year, we must become acquainted with the bases upon which the directorate of planning depended when it prepared it.

The introduction to the plan says: "It is well known that our province is experiencing a major phenomenon of settlement in it of a number of population groups, and a small number of houses available for them. We see this in all areas of the province, the land area of which is 23,300 square kilometers. Although a large number of services are now provided, a deficiency is clearly observable in a number of areas. In the area of drinking water, the percentage of residents provided this service by 1984 was 73 percent of the total number of residents. In the area of health, the number of beds in the hospitals is 184 beds; i.e., an average of 4.38 persons per bed. In addition, these beds are concentrated in the cities of al-Hasakah and al-Qamishi. In the area of branch and secondary roads, the length of asphalt roads by 1984 was 754 kilometers. We see the extent of the need in this area when we note that the area density of this is 32 kilometers per 1000 square kilometers."

The plan for the local administration agencies, the municipal council of al-Hasakah and the municipal council of al-Qamishi was drawn up on this basis.

## A Quick Reading

When we examine the sections of the plan, we notice an increase in all areas, as in all previous plans. It is unusual to find a section with no increase or a decrease from the previous plan.

Moreover, we notice an amount designated for the policies and procedures needed to implement the plan successfully. These policies have not been changed for years. Experience has shown that some of them--we do not say all of them--are not terrific, and do not achieve the desired end. We explain how.

In the area of culture, we observe no change in implementation for the current 1985 year from the previous 1984 year. There is no increase or decrease. We will not stop at this item, to ask about the causes which make this necessary, but will be content to ask the following questions: Were the 1984 plans for this area actually implemented? Were they sufficient enough to need no increase in the current year?

It is our belief that much of what was planned for this area was not fully implemented, or implemented in the desired way. If we take the activities of the cultural center in the city of al-Hasakah as an example, we see that our words are not off the mark. Assistants at the center attribute this to a lack of sufficient funds. A few days ago, a responsible source at the center explained to us that they had reached a point of not being able to purchase a newspaper. How, then, is it possible to undertake any activity?

Other problems also require explanation. For example, one section stipulates that 10 plays will be presented. Will these plays be produced by a troupe from the cultural center in the province? Can there simply be a theatrical performance, and that's all, with no agency responsible for it? Why don't we ask about the circulation of the troupe from the cultural center in this area? And where is this troupe based?

In order to implement the cultural plan, it is necessary--as was set forth in the section on policies and procedures--that connections be established between the agencies entrusted with implementation of the plan and individuals.

Here we ask: "Are these connections sufficient, and what are their benefits?"

We have learned from those involved with the cultural center in al-Hasakah that all of the contacts which took place previously have not been continued. As proof of this is the inability of the center to invite any literary men from outside the province to the province during the past season. The cultural aspect which we chose is simply one example. The other areas are no improvement on this. Rather, their situation is worse.

In a few words, we should make plans in light of the reality of the situation, not according to our desires and dreams; that is, as we have explained, experience has shown that reality is one thing, and plans on paper another.

It remains for us to indicate that the current year will witness an increase in the extent of the asphalt road system, from 745 kilometers to 832 kilometers. The extent of paved roads will decrease from 191 kilometers to 184 kilometers. The extent of dirt roads will increase from 133 kilometers to 142 kilometers, and 150 kilometers of roads will be repaired and maintained.

In addition, implementation will be completed for 116 schools for 912 primary students and for 19 preparatory schools for 274 students, while 124 primary and preparatory schools will be repaired. This will lead to a clear increase in the number of matriculants and graduates of primary, preparatory and secondary schools.

12780  
CSO: 4404/306

SYRIA

DAMASCUS RADIO ASSAILS MURPHY'S MIDEAST TOUR

JN291332 Damascus Domestic Service in Arabic 1130 GMT 29 Apr 85

[Station commentary]

[Text] U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Richard Murphy is continuing his Middle East tour, carrying in his pouch the short-term objectives of U.S. policy in the region--a policy that stems from overall U.S. strategy in both the region and the world. In the meantime, the deviationist, defeatist, and bargaining Arabs are continuing the journey of wagering on the U.S. and Israeli role, yearning for the moment when some of them get to the negotiating table. The deviationists in the Palestinian arena have become so enthusiastic that they expressed direct or indirect readiness to relinquish the Rabat summit resolution on the PLO's representation of the Palestinian Arab people by agreeing to authorize Palestinians whose affiliation with the PLO is undeclared to participate in negotiations with Israel and the United States under the canopy of the Jordanian regime.

What is Murphy carrying now? The Camp David president in Cairo refuses to admit that Murphy's tour has failed. He claims that the subject is complicated and needs time and that results cannot be achieved in one tour. The Camp David regime's president did not go into detail on what Murphy is carrying, nor did he say what he himself expected Murphy to accomplish.

From 'Arafat's deviationist clique, one of his close aides opened the door for the first shock intended to pave the way for successive shocks that would subdue Palestinian and Arab public opinion and make it fall into the habit of dealing with deviations and concessions. This close aide said--contrary to other members of the 'Arafatist choir--that Murphy made an offer and the PLO agreed to the participation of Palestinians who do not belong to the PLO in the Jordanian-Palestinian delegation that is wanted to sit at the negotiating table with Israel. This deviationist did not dare to talk about the topics on which negotiations will be held with Israel and the United States.

The defeatists' evasion of talk about the gist of Murphy's mission exposes the extent of their worry about it. Murphy has not come to the region to return the occupied Arab territories or restore the usurped Arab rights to their owners in accordance with the UN Charter and resolutions, but to push some Arabs into capitulation in front of Israel and to make them relinquish important cards in the Arab hand in return for nothing. He is advertising partial and unilateral

solutions in an attempt to keep the Arabs' friends away from the peace efforts and to negate the UN role. He is inviting the Arabs one after another to the negotiating table with Israel, that is, to negotiations between a side that comes from a position of power and another that comes from a position of weakness and humiliation. The results of such talks arranged by the United States, Israel's protector and strategic ally, are known in advance. They mean the weak side's acceptance of dictat by the strong. In such a case neither 'Arafat's acrobatics, nor the lectures of the Camp David regime in Cairo, nor the Jordanian regime's talk about kinfolk, family, and Cairo, nor the Jordanian regime's talk about kinfolk, family, and common destiny will be helpful.

The U.S. talk about negotiations without preconditions is only a direct action to free Israel from commitment to the UN resolutions on Palestine and the Middle East--resolutions that call for establishing a Palestinian Arab state for giving the Palestinian Arab people their national rights, and for pulling the Israeli forces out of all the occupied Arab territories.

Dear listeners, a just and comprehensive peace cannot be established by ignoring the UN principles and resolutions. It also cannot be attained without united and collective Arab ranks.

CSO: 4400/128

SYRIA

BRIEFS

HAMAH FLOOD CONTROL DAM--The Company for Hydraulic Studies is performing studies needed for erection of al-Ghassaniyah Dam, about 7 kilometers from the city of Hamah, to prevent flooding and inundation of the city of Hamah and the villages of Rabi'ah, Mitnayn, Tayzin and Abdas. The dam is 600 meters long, 700 meters wide and 12 meters high. The lake created by the dam is 1,200 meters long and stores 8.4 million cubic meters of water. The dam will prevent flooding and inundation by releasing water in a regulated flow. It is expected that the dam will be completed by the end of this year. The General Irrigation Company will implement the project at a cost of 12.5 million Syrian pounds. [Text] [Damascus TISHRIN in Arabic 27 Jan 85 p 2] 12780

AL-HASAKAH GAS PLANT OPERATIONAL--The utilities gas plant under the directorate of the al-Hasakah oil fields of the Syrian Petroleum Company resumed production the beginning of this month, after operating tests were interrupted by some technical defects found in the plant. The gas plant under the directorate of the al-Hasakah oil fields of the Syrian Petroleum Company was built in al-Suwaydiyah to put an end to the strangling domestic gas crisis from which the country suffers generally, and the eastern area particularly, and to stop the loss of revenue caused by burning the gas from the oil, gas which has economic value and great economic yield. The plant was designed to collect and process about 660,000 cubic meters of gas per day. It was planned to meet the needs of the provinces of al-Hasakah, Dayr al-Zuwar and al-Raqqah and the rural area of the province of Aleppo. It produces about 45,000 tons of domestic gas and 17,000 tons of benzine annually. This is more than sufficient for the needs of all the equipment of the directorate of the al-Hasakah oil fields. It also produces about 6,000 tons of solvents and 7,000 tons of sulfur annually. It began operating tests at the end of 1983. The tests were scheduled to be completed by the first quarter of 1984, but defects discovered during the operating tests have caused difficulties and delays. Defects discovered in October of the past year caused it to stand idle many months, and created a strangling gas crisis in the province of al-Hasakah. The needs of al-Hasakah province were drawn from the city of Aleppo, creating disruption in these areas. [Text] [Damascus TISHRIN in Arabic 29 Jan 85 p 2] 12780

CSO: 4404/306

AFGHANISTAN

COUNCILS ON IMPROVEMENT OF LIVING CONDITIONS EXPANDING

Kabul ANIS in Dari 5 Mar 85 p 1

[Text] The Sarubi District Toilers have firm belief in the righteousness of the national democratic Sawr revolution and in the philanthropic aims of their revolutionary party and government. Day by day they have tightened and strengthened their lines around the party, the government and the National Fatherland Front, and are working to make their region prosper.

Allah Mohammad, chief of the Sarubi District National Fatherland Front Council, in an interview with an ANIS correspondent, said: Since the toilers of Sarubi have gained complete awareness of the righteousness of the revolution and the great goals of the National Fatherland Front, they have cooperated in creating 11 village councils in 11 villages in Sarubi, along with other publicly useful and fruitful works.

He added: In order to provide valuable services to Sarubi's toiling farmers, this council has organized volunteer work aimed at cleaning, digging canals and building a public dam 10 times during the current year. In addition to farmers, other toilers have taken part in these collective works including members of social organizations, merchants, departmental officials and students. The villages' irrigation canals have been dredged and cleaned and as a result abundant water has flowed to the farmers' fields and lands. In addition, Naghalu's toilers have cooperated actively in erecting power line pylons.

In addition this council has actively cooperated with the Democratic Land Reforms Operational Group in identifying qualified farmers without land or with small holdings so they can obtain land deeds.

Thus, recently more than 200 qualified farmers have been introduced to the democratic land reform group. In addition, the Sarubi District National Fatherland Front Council has cooperated in distributing seeds, chemical fertilizer and other materials needed by the farmers at various times.

Responding to a question, the chief of the Sarubi District National Fatherland Front Council answered: As a result of the efforts of this council 70 youths have joined the revolution defenders group during the current year. Furthermore three literacy classes have been created this year in the villages of Livan, Sahebzadah Khayl and Mumandah, in which people deprived of literacy are enrolled.

9597

CSO: 4665/65

AFGHANISTAN

REPAIR, MAINTENANCE OF MOSQUES UNDERWAY IN KONDUZ

Kabul ANIS in Dari 5 Mar 85 p 1

[Text] The Konduz Province Islamic Affairs General Directorate has been active since 1981 in the province and has had material and spiritual assistance from the party and government. Here it has carried out its duty as necessary in order to organize patriotic clergymen, and with the help of Islamic guidance, has made the people aware of the elevated and humane goals of the party, the revolutionary government and the national democratic Sawr revolution. Propaganda in this area is continuing.

He said: Although prior to the victory of the Sawr revolution a so-called clergymen's society office existed, it was a show which had no role in organizing the clergy. However, the current Islamic Affairs Office, which is really one of the Sawr revolution's achievements, has been transformed into an effective instrument of the people's interests to correctly organize Islamic and religious affairs. It has been warmly welcomed by the people.

Within the framework of this organization, three administrative officials and three propaganda officials have been appointed to inform the people about the importance and developments of implementing progressive plans. They do this on Friday's and other religious holidays which have been announced in the mosques and meetings. Furthermore, the traveling propaganda group from this office has the duty of going to remote areas at the necessary times, shoulder to shoulder with the security organs. In the villages they explain Islamic commandments and inform the people concerning the oppression of world imperialism and reaction.

He added: In order to repair and paint mosques, the amount of 250,000 afghani have been allocated to this directorate during the current year. 140,000 afghanis were spent to repair and paint 5 mosques. During the winter of this year 50,000 afghanis of the aforementioned allocation were spent to heat 54 mosques by supplying and promptly delivering 2,000 cords of wood. This directorate spent 15,000 afghanis on 27 Ramazan for Koranic recitation and of this figure 10,000 afghanis went to the Konduz National Fatherland Front Council. The speaker gave a positive evaluation of the propaganda process by the members and officials of the Islamic Affairs Directorate, and stated: This directorate's propagandists, in accordance with the schedule, inform the people about topics of the day. In addition, in order to speed up the matter it has recently signed a protocol with the Konduz Province National Fatherland Front Council so that the propaganda process can be speeded up by using that council's propaganda material.

9597  
CSO: 4665/65

INDIA

CORRESPONDENT REVIEWS SOVIET AID IN POWER DEVELOPMENT

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 18 Apr 85 p 2

[Text]

The USSR has been a permanent and reliable partner of India in building the power base.

It is rendering help to India in power since 1957. Since then 16 electric power stations (including plant ones) have been built and commissioned.

The first major power project built with Soviet assistance was the Neyveli Thermal Power Station in Tamil Nadu with 600 MW capacity. The construction began in 1959. Due to the joint efforts of Soviet and Indian specialists the first industrial current was produced at Neyveli in August 1962.

In September 1969 Neyveli Power Station attained its rated capacity of 600 MW when the last power bloc of 100 MW was commissioned. Now the power station is meeting considerable part of the power requirement of the state.

The Neyveli Power Station at present continues to be one of the biggest in India, ensuring cheap power to the major industrial region of South India. Power equipment, produced with Soviet technology are: 6 turbogenerator of 50 MW each, 3 units of 100 MW each. They are functioning stably and faultlessly. In 1983 the utilisation factor of the power equipment at the station was 73.1, was the highest index for the whole of India. (On an average it is 49 per cent in the country). The government gave a special prize to the power station for its successful work. Power production at the electric station during the 1983-84 fiscal year was 3.9 billion kilowatt hours, which was equivalent to the power generation at the thermal power stations at Chandrapur and Nasik, with capacity of 780 MW and 910 MW

respectively.

For ensuring normal maintenance of the power station USSR supplies necessary spare parts in accordance with the yearly orders and highly qualified Soviet specialists come to the power station for giving consultations and repairing works.

An example of cooperation in the construction of hydroelectric power stations is the participation of Soviet organisations in the construction of the Bhakra Nangal Power Station on the right bank of the Sutlej with 700 MW capacity (5 hydrounits of 120 MW each).

Over 300 power projects have been built, designed or are under construction with Soviet assistance in the Asian, African and Latin American countries. In the beginning of 1984 the rated capacity of power stations built with Soviet assistance in development was 12.5 mkw the USSR renders assistance in developing electric power on complex basis. It is directed at creating the thermal power base, including the construction of projects for producing power as well as development of individual power systems, national power, training of cadres for power. The Heavy Electricals Equipment Plant built with Soviet assistance at Hardwar is not only the biggest in India but also in South East Asia. Production capacities of the plant enable to produce yearly turbo-generators with total capacity of 1.5 mkw, hydro units of 1.2 mkw and electrical machines 0.515 mkw. The Hardwar plant is one of the most profitable enterprises of the public sector of India's economy.

The continuation of cooperation of the two countries in the construction in India of new thermal power stations has wide prospects. Soviet

organisations are already helping in constructing the first phase of the Vindhya Chal Superthermal Power Station with 1260 MW capacity with 6 power blocs of 210 MW each and in constructing the transmission line of 570 km length. The station is being erected at the base of the major coal deposit at Nigahi and in future it is proposed to raise its capacity up to 3260 MW. Construction work has already started in 1984 at the site of the power station. Electrical equipment has already started coming from the Soviet Union. A generator with 210 MW capacity has been produced and sent to the power station the Electrosila plant in Leningrad a month ahead of schedule.

Negotiations are in progress for the cooperation of the two countries in constructing the first phase of the Kahalgaoan thermal power station of 840 MW capacity with 4 power blocs of 210 MW each. It is possible that the Soviet organisations will assist in conducting the Muradnagar thermal power station of 840 MW capacity which has been

included in the draft of the Seventh Plan.

At the end of January 1985, the 4th Session of the Soviet-Indian working group of power held its session in Delhi. The representatives of the respective organisations of the two countries took further steps for deepening and strengthening of mutual cooperation; especially in the construction of transmission lines, for building in India enterprises for repairing power equipment and supplying spare parts for the equipment operating at power stations in India.

There could be one more field of power there where could be wide cooperation between the two countries on long-term basis. This is regarding atomic power.

Having in view the implementation of the programme of development of India's atomic power which envisaged to increase by 2000 the capacities of atomic power station up to 10,000 MW from the present 1009 MW the use of Soviet experience in this field can considerably help in solving this great task.

CSO: 4600/1545

INDIA

GANDHI SPEAKS AT ROUNDTABLE MEET, TALKS TO PRESS

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 17 Apr 85 p 8

[Text] The following are the excerpts from Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's inaugural address to the 'Round Table on India' in the Capital on Monday and Press Conference on the occasion:

"It is a pleasure for me to be here with you today. I would like to congratulate the EMF for organising this Round Table on India because we do feel that today one of the most important things that mankind needs is better understanding and this is a point from which we can build that.

We in India, are today in a position from which we can move ahead fairly rapidly. From this Round Table, we would like not only you to understand India better, to understand our systems, our policies, our people, but we would also like to learn from you and understand how we could do better, how we could move faster. You will be mainly looking at our economy, the direction it is taking. I would like to just say a few words about it.

Our economy is based on Five Year Plans. We have just concluded the Sixth Plan from 1980 to 1985. The performance during this plan was highly satisfactory. Our average growth rate was a little over 5 per cent in GNP. The agricultural output in 1979-80 was 109 million tonnes and this year we are likely to go over 150 million tonnes — almost a 40 per cent increase in five years and unlike some other countries, there are many products which we don't count in this agricultural output.

During the past Five Year Plans we had established a strong foundation for growth. And it is this that we can take advantage of and build on today. The Seventh Plan, which will be ready in about six months time, will project the policies and strategies for the next five years. The broad-thrust areas are already clear and the details we will have very soon.

Agriculture is the bed-rock of our economy. Almost 70 per cent of our people live by agriculture. And this necessarily means that our industries must relate to the agricultural sector to be fully involved in our development process. We have progressed very rapidly in agriculture, like

I have just said, but there is still very much to be done in terms of the crops, the regions where there is still a lot of disparity. Industrial growth must be parallel with agricultural growth for us to get maximum benefit from both sectors. Our basic policy for agricultural growth has been irrigation and fertilizer, to put it very crudely into two boxes and remunerative prices for agricultural produce. With these three critical areas, we have managed to increase our agricultural production. And while many other developing countries are succumbing to famine and drought as we see in Africa today, India, due to its proper management, is able to send food to Africa today.

We have a mixed economy, the public sector and the private sector, both function together for the benefit, for the maximum benefit of the country and for their own faster expansions. Both have grown and gained strength and the best companies in both spheres are equal to any in the world. *The development role of our public sector has been very critical in the development of India. And we must keep this in mind when we criticise the public sector for their inefficiency or their lower productivity, because we force them to go into areas where there is no industry, where there is no infrastructure, maybe no roads, no communications, no facilities. So this, we must keep in mind before charging them with inefficiency or low productivity.* Still, in spite of these positive points, there are certain areas where we find weaknesses in our industrial system. The major weakness is our efficiency. Our industries are not as efficient as other industries in the world and certainly not as efficient as we would like them to be. Their productivity is low, quality standards are not upto those in the rest of the world. The cost of production is still very high and in many areas there is technological stagnation. These are the challenges that we face today.

The steps that we have taken are just a few of those that we are about to take to invigorate our industry, to get a new thrust into our whole corporate sector. We have restructured the di-

rect tax system to make it easier, smoother and more profitable, to work more efficiently. We are in the process of looking at how to restructure our indirect tax system.

We have introduced a new import-export policy. Government procedures, in control, are being rationalised, so that there are fewer time delays. We are trying to have one window operations, as far as possible. *We are basically opening up our industry to competitive pressures so that they may perform better. I am confident of the competence of our industry and I know that they will respond positively and show a new dynamism.* We expect that we cannot do this entirely on our own. We will need help from industries, from friends in other countries. *We see this really as a support role for our own industries because self-reliance, self-sufficiency is one of our primary goals. We would like foreign business to help us in this goal, in building a new dynamic, self-reliant economy in our country. At this stage of our development, it is not feasible to open up our industries to free competition from all industries abroad. It would not be fair to our industries. But at the same time, we are, in certain areas, opening up to foreign competition so that our industries might face the pressure and perform under that pressure.*

Foreign investment is strictly regulated by our laws. But once an investment is cleared, there are no further restrictions and the same laws apply to all companies — Indian or foreign. We have introduced special terms for high-technology in special areas where we feel that we need more thrust. *India offers a massive market of 750 million people. We have a growing per-capita income and the strength of the market is much more than our statistics make us believe. We have seen this on various occasions when we have opened up various areas, the roof has suddenly gone off the market. We offer political stability, consistent policies, wide industrial base, a very large trained manpower, access to various markets and a very good past record of dealing with foreign companies. India looks ahead to not remaining a developing country, we are looking ahead to moving up, to moving ahead, challenging the developed economies in the coming years. We hope we will be able to work together for our mutual benefit.*

I would like to thank you for giving me this opportunity to talk to you. I know you have got many questions, I will give you that opportunity now.

Q: One which you have partly already answered but nevertheless I would like to repeat this question. What, Mr Prime Minister, do you consider as the three most pressing economic problems of your Government? What specific actions and what time table do you have for bringing them under control?

PM: The three, I think would be, the first must be population. Because anything we do, is diluted by our population growth. The second,

has to be poverty and how to remove it. I suppose really that is where we come to our real problems, which is agricultural development, industrial development. We have tackled population control on a war-footing. Our growth rate for the first time is below two per cent. And we hope to continue this trend to reduce our population growth and to make it manageable in the coming years. To really understand some of our social programmes, one must understand the poverty level in some of our areas. In the West, one talks of free enterprise, one talks of allowing people to go ahead on their own scheme giving them the opportunity and letting their initiatives take over. But when one looks at some areas in India, very large areas in India, one sees people at a poverty level where they do not have the capability to go ahead, even if they have the initiative.

And for this group we have very large anti-poverty programmes, which help them come up above, just above that level, so that they can then take off on their own, on their own steam. *We have found these programmes very good, we have helped a very large number of people but, of course, whenever you have such programmes when you lift large people up above a certain level, immediately, their aspirations, their demands go up even high. So when we have these anti-poverty programmes, we have to match them with infrastructure development so that these people can then make full use of having been lifted up above the poverty levels. We have steadily been reducing the percentage of people below the poverty line since independence. This has been a tremendous achievement, if you match it with the population growth that has taken place. Our population is more than double what it was at the time of independence and the poverty levels have come down very gradually.*

On agricultural and industrial development, I have already given you some areas, some ideas what we are going to do. We are now looking at how we can progress even faster. We are looking at how to select certain areas and concentrate in those directions and make our country equal in those areas to technology anywhere in the world. Once we achieve that, we will broaden those areas so that we can cover the full spectrum. This is roughly what we have in mind.

Q: Mr Prime Minister, you spoke already about the role of the public and the private sector. I have one question, which is related to this issue. How do you see the role of the entrepreneur in the development of your country's economy? What could and what should be done to facilitate entrepreneurial activities?

PM: The entrepreneur very definitely carries very high priority with us. This can be seen from our tax laws, from our industrial licensing policies. And in the recent policies we have again given a special thrust, more benefits to entrepreneurs. A very large section of our industry is based on small scale industries, which are re-

ally small entrepreneurs. We are trying to broaden this into the agricultural areas with rural industries, with agro industries, and with very, very small scale village industries. We feel that entrepreneurs are really the core of our future industries. And we must give them full scope to develop the entrepreneurship.

Q: Mr Prime Minister, you spoke about the Indian economy towards its objective, of course in equity. Now the question of the contribution of foreign business collaboration in achieving those objectives, and here a more specific question, which areas would you single out to be particularly open for foreign collaboration?

PM: This is a very difficult question, because there are so many areas that we have opened up. But without spending time on the non-essential areas, *really the basic infrastructural areas are, where we need most help, which is energy, whether it is power or fossil energy, communications and transport and in agriculture*. Agricultural methods, technology right from the development, the *biotechnology required for the seeds to other larger technologies required for maximum output in production from our views*. These are the really core areas where we look for more help, but of course, *we are open across a very wide span and I am sure you will know more about it in your discussions this afternoon, when you talk about specific subjects and specific areas of cooperation*.

Q: Mr Prime Minister, I have a still related question which has to do with the issue of the consistency and continuity. And the question is: can an efficient transfer of technology take place in such a limited period of a time as defined today?

PM: Well, the short answer of course is, Yes. We have seen this, the Indian industrialist, the Indian mind is very receptive to quick change, to absorbing technologies and, I think, you will also find this when you talk to our industrialist, when you talk to our people. We are able to absorb things much faster than many peoples of the world and use them productively, economically and, maybe sometimes in manners which other people could never have envisaged.

Q: Mr Prime Minister, the key factor for international competitiveness are industrial relations. What initiatives will you take in order to improve those relations?

PM: On the whole, our industrial relations have been fairly good. But that doesn't mean that we can rest at that position. *We are looking at various laws to see how we can make them better, better for industry and better both for labour as well. We will have these ready shortly and you will see that there will be tremendous improvement in productivity and in work out*.

Q: Mr Prime Minister, how do you define the aspirations of the young people in your country? *To what extent, do they identify themselves with the policies, the values which you represent?*

PM: The aspirations are very, very high and how should I say how they look at our Government, I think, *the best answer is to see the result of the last election that they give the support, shows the support that they have given to our Government*. But there is one more thing I would like to add, which I should have said earlier in... The real problems that we are facing and I missed out one which is education. Because education really goes to the root of every process of development and in our family planning programmes, our population control programme. *We are looking at the whole gamut of our education system and seeing how we can change it to make it more dynamic and more productive for the youth of our country and make them come out with more initiative and more drive*.

Q: Mr Prime Minister, a related question; how does your Government reconcile modernisation and materialise which goes with it and its traditional values of society. Do you see here any contradiction and implication for social and political stability of your country?

PM: I don't see it as a danger to our political stability. We have demonstrated over the past 37 years, since our independence that India is stable. We have had a number of major changes of Government. Our country has come through times of very severe trauma but we have still come out every time stronger than we were before. *Our democratic structure, our system is now very deeply ingrained and I don't think here is any question of instability coming into it*. But the challenges are very real and we can see *the tension between the old strength of India, the spirituality, the inner strength that really defined India, that has kept India as India*. Inspite of many foreign conquests India has not changed, it is the conquerer that has become Indian. This strength, we cannot afford to lose and we will not let it have. *We have to blend this in with modern technology, hopefully, not with modern materialism but with Indian spirituality*.

Q: Mr Prime Minister, the mobilisation of human resources seems to be the key for progress. This concerns particularly human resources employed by the Government. Would you care to comment on those issues and in this context on democracy and I may add, another question which is similar: the world's mood is focusing on India, to the excellent policy you are implementing. But there is a fear that in our daily context the charges which are announced by the Government are not going to come to action. Please comment on this.

PM: Well, I will start with the bureaucracy. I suppose we must start there because you will end there. Our bureaucracy is much maligned. It is true that some times they are too bureaucratic, sometimes they are entangled totally in their own redtape. But we see the positive side, *they have helped keep India together, they have helped keep India united, they have helped*

*keep India democratic which many many other countries in the world would have liked to have seen in their countries. We just have a look around our neighbourhood to see the difference that there is in the systems. At the same time, we must make them more dynamic, we must make them more forward looking and we are doing this. I cannot claim that this is going to happen in a matter of days or weeks or months. This really goes down to the basic training that the bureaucracy is given in their training institutes and that is where we are starting. At the same time, we are seeing how to make it more dynamic at all levels and I think you can already see a difference. This will become more and better as time goes by.*

**Q:** We have admiration for your policy but what will you do in order that it is implemented inside the Government hierarchy?

**PM:** Well, it will be implemented. We are already taking a lot of steps for it. And I think, you too, will see that the effects flow right down to the lowest level in a very short period of time.

**Q:** Mr Prime Minister, how do you see it a political picture emerging in India in the next decade also in the context of the host of regional parties?

**PM:** Well, I have already answered part of that. The political system has been established for about 37 years now. It has proved its strength during various periods of tension, trauma, hardship that our country has gone through. We have shown the world that the system is stronger than any pressure that can be put upon it. I don't see any change in this system coming about in the country. Regional parties have a role but by definition, we have a narrow outlook. And this is not good for the greater good of our country. We have now really only one effective regional party. And that too is looking towards a national outlook. We hope that they can have a national outlook. Of course, as a party, our party will be fighting them all the way but we would like more parties with the national outlook and I see that this is a tendency which is developing.

**Q:** One question which is related to it. Previously all major decisions were taken by the Prime Minister and Central Government. Now we understand decisions will be decentralised. When and how?

**PM:** We have already decentralised substantially. We have pushed the decision making down to lower levels in almost every area. And this is not when but it is now.

**Q:** Mr Prime Minister, we are very happy in India with your dynamic approach and practical budget and a very practical import-export policy or we more than congratulate you. We run a few industries in the part of Karnataka, maybe the electronic industry is feeling relieved today because of your very dynamic approach and constructive approach. Sir, whether you could do or you could consider, perhaps, to the power problems at ease, it is only you who could do it?

**PM:** Well, it is very difficult for me to talk about power problems in Karnataka specifically, as the hon'ble gentleman is aware that Karnataka is State run by an opposite party and power is a State subject. It does'nt come under the Centre as such. But power is one of our major problems. But then isn't that by definition a problem of the developing country? Once we have enough energy, we have, by definition, got over the problems of development. And we are looking at this problem, we are trying to see how we can help from the Central sector. In fact, in this year's budget power is one sector which has had an increase in outlay by almost every single other factor we have had to cut back upon.

**Q:** My question would be in the high technology and electronic sector, India will be competing the world markets with exports from the far-east. High effective duty rates provide no incentives for local component manufacturers to become efficient and therefore, their products to be cost competitive. Is the Government prepared to bring duty rate down progressively and expeditiously in order to encourage efficiency in the private sector?

**PM:** Well, you have taken the one industry that we have done tremendous work on during the past few months. We have completely revised the whole electronics policy. We have revised the duty rates; tax rates right from the starting point of raw-material and components to the finished products and I am sure during your later discussions when you talk specifically about this area, you will find out how much we have done for electronics. And I would like to add that in electronics specially in consumer electronics where the far-east is mostly competitive, our markets are not necessarily targeted to exports. We have a very, very large market in India. And I think the best example of our market, the size of our market can be demonstrated by the two months or three months of customs relief we have during the Asian Games for import of television sets. I am told that we mopped up almost every single television set that was available in the world right up to the Los Angeles. I was told no sets were available. This is the strength of the consumer market in India and we do not only look outside, we also look at our own market.

**Q:** We are very heartened that the Prime Minister started with population problem. Related to that is the problem of the environment and the ecology. And India has set a very good example already but the problem is so vast for us linked with education also, it will be very interesting to request the Prime Minister to please also reassure us again on this great occasion.

**PM:** We are fully aware of this problem and this is going to be one of our major thrust-areas in not only locating industry, in licencing industry, in seeing that industry does not upset the ecology and local environment but also in our

new education system. So, it is ingrained into our people right from the earliest age and it is not a problem at a later date. We are actively attacking those areas where it has already caused us problems, where it has already become serious. But the policy is really to see that we preserve our ecology, we don't damage it further. We repair it where we have already damaged it. Sometimes this is the constraint to industrial growth. Sometimes, it is more expensive but if we look at the longer term picture, it is essential and it repays many times the investments that we put into it.

Q: Mr Prime Minister, I was very much impressed by your remark regarding the public sector and reference to private sector. One thought which has been worrying me a lot, that we have not sufficiently exploited a joint sector to the extent we should. There is a certain amount of animus between, whether you like it or not, between the two and there could be a great scope for both of them together. Small experiment was made years ago on Air India International. And if that pattern could be repeated where the private sector start with 51 per cent and the Government put in or contribute 49 per cent with a proviso that the Government has the right at any time to take over two per cent automatically when the private sector has misbehaved or not performed well. Now that would take care of a number of capital intensive industries when today there is a dearth of capital and the private sector will supplement the kind of entrepreneurship plus the efficiency to put in. And between the two of them we have a scope which could be put into our Company Law Act as an instrument which we can show to the world that both together in a mixed economy can progress together without any animus and competition between them, and India can profit a lot. I would like to know your reaction? If we could give greater momentum to a thought which is already there and we have already done that in the past and like to hear little more about it?

PM: I think, this is an area that we must look into, and see how we can build this cooperation here, and we will be doing this.

It is not always that cooperation leads to better results. Sometimes a little bit of conflict is required to push people to perform a little better. But we will definitely look into this.

Q: Mr Prime Minister, before concluding this session, I have still three very short questions left. The first one is: What concrete advice would you give to the foreign businessmen here? The second one: What concrete advice would you give to the Indian businessmen here

to tackle the medium term future of the country? And the last question, What are — maybe little bit private question — the key personal values that strike you, as politician, as a human being, and as a leader of your country?

PM: Very difficult to answer these questions at the time that is left. To answer the second question first: It's really a question of seeing where one wants India to go. When one goes around the country, meets the people, tries understand their problems, their aspirations, then one realises the tremendous energies are available, the tremendous potential that is there in our country. At the same time, one sees the inability of a very large section of the people to make use of that because of their poverty level, because of their conditions. We have to see how to bring them out of this. Like I said earlier, without removing what is their intrinsic strength which is an inherent, a depth, a spirituality, something much deeper than modern materialism or consumerisms, a strength which will serve not only India but if we can project positively, will definitely help the world face the 21st century as we go into it. The values that India has built upon can really be summed up into what Gandhiji said many many years ago: 'Truth and Non-violence' amongst a lot of other things but the core would be truth and non-violence. Truth in everything. In a way if you translate truth into a world scenario, it really can be projected as being a true democracy where truth is allowed to come up in surface, where every country is allowed to speak its mind freely. Non-violence in a similar way is much deeper than what the West conceived as non-violence. Gandhiji's description of non-violence was not just that you do not hit back, it was just that you do not even feel like hitting back. It is that conditioning which we require today, not only in India, we require it in the whole world, in a world where we are arming up to the teeth, we are only talking about annihilating the other party as a check for violence and we in India feel that this is a ridiculous state of affairs. If we have to progress, we must think positively and not negatively. We from India try to project this in our foreign policy and we have tried to build this into the non-aligned movement, both these things. And it is continuing in this process that we would like a cooperation with others and other countries. We would not like to feel that we are being exploited or that we are exploiting anybody else. We stand for freedom in every sphere. And that is what we will be working towards, that is what we would like to see in the cooperation between our industrialists and industrialists from other countries.

INDIA

DMKP NATIONAL EXECUTIVE MEETS, APPROVES RESOLUTION

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 15 Apr 85 p 9

[Text] NEW DELHI, April 14 (UNI)--THE Dalit Majdoor Kisan Party (DMKP), an ardent supporter of caste-based reservations in jobs, today showed a slight moderation in its attitude by appreciating the need for reservations even for the poor people belonging to the 'upper castes'.

The party's national executive, which discussed the situation arising out of the agitation against job-reservations in Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh, noted that there were poor people even among the upper castes and reservation was "definitely" needed for them also.

A resolution, moved by the former minister, Mr. Janeshwar Mishra and seconded by the party general secretary, Mr. Ram Vilas Paswan, however disagreed with those who advocated reservations only on economic basis. "They are unnecessarily trying to camouflage the issue," the resolution said.

With the party chief, Mr. Charan Singh in the chair, the DMKP executive said: Caste alone seems to be permanent in this country. The rich can become paupers. The poor become rich. Governments can change. People can be converted from one religion to another."

At the same time, the DMKP reiterated its opposition to casteism which it said was the sole cause of India's subjugation in the past. So long as it existed, the unity and integrity of the country would be in peril, it added.

The party, however, favoured continuance of the caste-based reservation as long as there were caste-differences. Moreover, the reservation was a constitutional right and those who agitated against it, as was currently witnessed in Gujarat, were only trying to wreck the country's unity, it said.

The DMKP said 85 per cent of the country's property and services were controlled by only 15 per cent of the population while 85 per cent had the right over only 15 per cent of the property and services.

The party condemned the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's announcement that his government would consider the reservation policy. "This had precisely led to the violence and agitation," the party said.

PTI adds:

The DMKP appealed to the antireservation agitationists in Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh to agitate for the uplift of the down-trodden instead of protesting against reservations.

The meeting of the executive felt that the issue of reservation policy should be handled with a nationalist outlook and called for an end to the agitation immediately.

Briefing newsmen on the outcome of the meeting, Mr. S. P. Malviya and Mr. Ram Vilas Paswan, general secretaries of the party, said the executive was of the view that the moment the prevalence of caste system ended, the reservation issue on its basis could also end.

The party also decided to observe May 1 as anti-budget day when demonstrations and public meetings would be staged by party units all over the country.

The executive felt that the budget has "shattered the country's economy and peoples confidence" and would lead to an increase in poverty, unemployment, and prices of essential commodities and agricultural implements.

On the issue of changing the party's name, the meeting authorised Mr. Charan Singh to appoint a five-member sub-committee to look into the matter. Among the alternative names suggested were Bharatiya Kranti Dal, Lok Dal and Bharatiya Lok Dal.

The party noted with regret that some victims of the riots that followed the assassination of Mrs. Indira Gandhi still remained to be rehabilitated. It called upon its workers to work for the relief of the victims and restoration of feeling of brotherhood among various communities.

Referring to the Punjab situation, it appealed to the Akali Dal and the Sikh Gurudwara Prabandhak committee (SGPC) to pull their "full weight" in the direction of difusing the situation. It hoped that government would without delay release all the Dal and SGPC leaders as well as individuals unconnected with acts of terrorism or proven violence.

The executive also decided to hold a three-day training camp for selected 200 party workers from May 6 in Mathura.

CSO: 4600/1538

INDIA

## REPORT ON NEW ZEALAND PRIME MINISTER'S PRESS CONFERENCE

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 16 Apr 85 p 9

[Text]

NEW DELHI, April 15.

**T**HIS Prime Minister of New Zealand, Mr. David Russell Lange, today said he looked forward to expanding trade and economic co-operation between his country and India.

Addressing a news conference here soon after his meeting with President Zail Singh and the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, during his brief stopover in the capital, he said India produced all the goods that New Zealand could buy, particularly textiles and watches.

New Zealand in turn could export dairy and timber products and newsprint. Production by developed countries had harmed New Zealand whose exports were agricultural, Mr. Lange said.

### INDIA'S IMAGE

The New Zealand Prime Minister said, so far as he was concerned he was "practically sold out" on India. However, New Zealanders' image of India was still that it was a "land of bullock carts". That was why his government was keen to popularise in New Zealand India's excellence in the field of science and technology.

He described as "extraordinarily useful" his one-hour discussion with Mr. Gandhi. Mr. Lange said the Indian prime minister acquainted him with India's perception of the situation in Afghanistan, Sri Lanka, and Pakistan. He also spoke on the developments in Punjab.

Mr. Lange said his country had a substantial Sri Lankan population and expressed his concern at the ethnic problem in the island republic.

He invited Mr. Gandhi to visit New Zealand. Mr. Gandhi told Mr. Lange that he would very much like to visit his country.

The two leaders also exchanged

views on promoting bilateral relations between India and New Zealand as also cooperation in the international sphere.

Asked about defence cooperation between the two countries, Mr. Lange said the only substantial cooperation could be in the sphere of joint naval exercises, as had taken place in 1977.

He said New Zealand had sympathy with the objectives of the Delhi declaration and was committed to disarmament. His government disapproved of billions of dollars being spent by the superpowers on nuclear armaments.

About New Zealand's relations with the United States following his government's refusal to allow U.S. nuclear war ships in New Zealand's territorial waters, Mr. Lange said "there will never be a divorce between the United States and New Zealand."

The United States was New Zealand's principal trading ally, and there were no trade sanctions by that country against his country, Mr. Lange said. He also denied reports that United States might be trying to destabilise his government.

Earlier, Mr. Lange accompanied by his wife, Mrs. Naomi Lange, called on the President, Mr. Zail Singh. The New Zealand ambassador to India, Mr. Edmund Hillary was also present.

Before leaving for Singapore, Mr. Lange had lunch with Mr. Gandhi. PII adds: Earlier, the New Zealand Prime Minister was accorded a cordial welcome when he arrived here this morning on a day's official visit.

Mr. Lange and his wife was received at the airport by Prime Minister, Mrs. Sonia Gandhi, minister of state for external affairs, Mr. Khursheed Alam Khan and Mr. A. P. Venkateswaran, secretary (east) in the ministry of external affairs.

CSO: 4600/1541

INDIA

FOREIGN SECRETARY TALKS TO PRESS ON RETURN FROM DHAKA

Madras THE HINDU in English 17 Apr 85 p 1

[Text]

NEW DELHI, April 16.

The Union Home Minister, Mr. S. B. Chavan, today expressed concern over the frequent requests by State Governments for the help of the army for tackling internal security problems. He wanted them to make use of paramilitary forces and said the Centre was determined to reduce the deployment of the army for this purpose. It was his hope that State Governments would strengthen their police force to meet the challenges posed by law and order.

Mr. Chavan, who was inaugurating a three-day conference of State police chiefs, referred to the developments in Punjab and other States in the recent past, particularly the "distinct efforts to disrupt normal life and to destabilise the Government".

Stressing the need for constant vigilance and all-out efforts to preserve the unity and integrity of the country, Mr. Chavan said that the situation called for deft and perceptive handling, innovative responses and a different kind of initiative. The primary task, according to him, was to give the people a sense of greater security and prevent the phenomenon of violence and fear taking deep roots.

**North-East better:** The Home Minister struck an optimistic note about the North-East where regionalism and parochialism had taken a heavy toll over the years. It was heartening to see, he said, that the more rabid of these forces had been kept in check and a realisation seemed to be dawning on that problems of the type encountered in Assam and other parts of North-East could be solved across the negotiation table and through due processes of law rather than through systematic resort to violence and militancy. However, he saw little room for complacency as some basic issues were yet to be sorted out.

Police, he said, had to make conscious efforts to instil confidence and a sense of security among the masses, particularly the minorities and vulnerable sections of society. He pinpoint-

ed the responsibility of senior officers for providing a positive lead and the right leadership.

The Home Minister wanted the police chiefs to regard right-wing, left-wing and tribal extremism as well as sectarian and terrorist movements, posing as they do a fundamental challenge to the democratic way of life, as the areas of preeminent concern to the national security agencies.

**Target for spies:** Stressing the need for greater security for the nation's secrets, Mr. Chavan said India was becoming an import target for espionage for several foreign powers. He, complimented the Intelligence Bureau for detecting recently an important case of espionage. The IB, he said, had been not only to detect this case, but also unravel all the various strands which give a good idea of the dimensions of the espionage network. Several measures had been taken by the Union Government to improve security procedures in offices. He expressed the hope that similar measures were being taken by the State Governments.

As regards the role of police in crime prevention and investigation, the Home Minister said that modernisation was the key to better performance in the area of security and law and order management. He wanted the concerned agencies to take full advantage of the rapid technological advances to meet the complex challenges in the future. Personnel policies, discipline, equipment and training were vital for a better image for police—an area which warranted considerable attention.

**Seniors' responsibility:** It was the primary responsibility of senior officers to ensure a contented and disciplined police force and to place before the government their needs and requirements as also point out the challenges stemming from neglect of real and perceived grievances.

The Home Minister presented the President's police medal for meritorious service to Mr. M. C. Trikha, IG (Intelligence), Punjab and Mr. A. N. Roy, Assistant Director, Intelligence Bureau.

CSO: 4600/1546

INDIA

NEW BUDGET CRITICIZED FOR IGNORING RURAL DEVELOPMENT

New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 20 Mar 85 p 4

/Article by Banwari: "Their World Does Not Include Villages" /

/Text/ The new budget can be very educational if you want to understand the sociology of development. This budget promises rapid progress but rules out development in rural areas completely. Our finance minister, whose motto is progress, production and competence, has forgotten our villages. This is the first budget of our Seventh 5-Year Plan, and all the lower amounts in it are reserved for rural development. For these new prophets of progress, villages belong to a dark world. They are blinded by the dazzle of the industrial world. How can they see the poverty in our dark villages?

A glance at the new budget indicates that projects for rural development and employment are greatly curtailed. Three projects that depended on central government funding are especially effected. Directors of the Central Rural Development Program, the National Rural Employment Program and Employment Guarantees for the Rural Landless must have been hoping for larger budgets from our finance minister, who had promised something for everyone. Their budgets, instead of being increased, are greatly reduced; they have been given 70 millions rupees less than last year. Four billion rupees are reserved for agricultural insurance to protect the green revolution.

The government has provided a lot of relief to financial institutions helping industrialization. Development requires finance, and easing controls on financial institutions fosters production. This simple logic has made our finance minister forget agriculture. Last year 2.97 billion rupees were spent in financial aid to agricultural development. This aid is reduced to 1.55 billion rupees this year. Our Ministry of Agriculture had started the reclamation of dry areas last year after admitting responsibility for a slowdown in the green revolution. Last year they spent 400 million rupees on this project. This year they are limiting it to 370 million rupees. Our finance minister is "rewarding" the laziness in this area!

The campaign to increase the use of chemical fertilizers was run zealously by the bureaucrats in the Ministry of Agriculture. They sold visions of the brave new world of the green revolution to the farmers. The ministry's annual reports have publicized this campaign well. Now the government has put a squeeze on

this plan. Last year, 4.92 billion rupees were appropriated for this campaign, out of which only 3.97 billion were spent. This year, they have appropriated only 2.55 billion for this. The statistics published last week indicate that the four agriculturally endowed states that were effected by these cuts include Rajasthan. They were always concerned about the reclamation of deserts, but this year the sum appropriated for this purpose has been reduced from last year's 100 million rupees to 80 million.

The hand-spun cloth industry, which provides jobs to villagers, has been penalized with a reduction of 190 million rupees for its programs for not being a part of the industrial progress. It has been allocated 1.15 billion rupees compared with last year's 1.34 billion. What is more, irrigation and flood control programs have been punished with a cut of 10 million rupees for the same crime. A program for improving fisheries and strengthening the rural economy was approved last year, but now its appropriation is reduced by 10 million rupees. Programs for scheduled castes and backward tribes are being curtailed drastically. These programs are being funded with 420 million rupees compared with last year's 710 million rupees.

Many more examples could be given showing the neglect of rural programs, but we are not interested in printing a balance sheet. We want to emphasize that whenever proponents of speedy progress rally for production and competence they develop tunnel vision. You will be amazed when you compare this neglect of rural development with the privileges given to the wealthy. You know that Finance Minister Viswanath Pratap Singh has increased the limit on property holdings from 100,000 to 250,000 rupees and at the same time reduced the supertax from 5 percent to 2 percent to send the wealthy to hog heaven. Those benefitting from this change will get 700 million rupees gratis. The government has lost another 200 million by eliminating wealth and inheritance taxes. About 4 million people will save a total of 2 billion rupees due to the reduction in personal income tax. Similarly, corporations will reap a hefty 1.97 billion rupees from reductions in corporate income taxes.

This budget is being hailed as historic by our government bards for its role in industrial development. With such a narrow view of history, these people need only a minor excuse to become euphoric. The industrial sector has not really won the world. The government has eased some regulations, facilitated the making of profits and given a boost to earnings. All in all, this will be small comfort to the businessmen. The government has already managed to add 3.11 billion rupees to its coffers from the increased custom duties and production taxes. This, however, does not affect the rich industrialists. They are happy that the government is so lenient with them this time. This is a new feeling. The industrialists have begun to feel that the new government is behind them. The mask of socialism that Indira Gandhi wore has ripped off. Now they can speak with the government in their own language. Why should they not be happy with this attitude of the government? The new government is not affected by the views of politicians and economists. Concern was being expressed at the midpoint of the Sixth 5-Year Plan about the positive correlation between economic progress and poverty. Our production was up, but employment was down. The poverty was causing various political problems. This trend forced our planners to initiate a new experiment with the Seventh plan. A document

prepared by Gandhian disciples at Wardha demanded an inquiry into these plans promising increased employment. Government economists trained in the Western school of thought must have been disturbed by this.

These people must be happy now that the correlation between poverty and development has been eliminated. The new leadership is totally unaware of rural India and its problems or needs. They have not traveled the usual political route, which provides contact with the masses. The corporations from which they jumped to the government have taught them exactly what is taught to technicians and managers in large industries in the United States, Britain and other industrialized Western nations. To increase gross national production, they require government help, plenty of capital, free access to international markets, no restrictions such as licenses and assistance in obtaining new technology. This will make the people who deserve happiness under this system happy.

The new budget advocates industrialization based on this computerized philosophy. Television prices are reduced, restrictions on cigarette licenses are eased, financial institutions are given a free hand and taxes on personal and corporate incomes are reduced in support of such a lifestyle and economic structure. This privileged people and corporations are not affected by price increases of such commodities as petroleum, cement, vegetable oil and food. Their pockets will remain unaffected by these price increases. The new economic system will help them pass these increases on to the consumer. Everyone will spend money, but all of it will go to those who belong to this new brotherhood.

It is useless to complain about the reduced funding for rural development since the villagers would not have benefitted from these projects. Such relief is a mockery compared with the speed at which their problems are multiplying because of these new economic policies. The reduction in the present budget does not make much difference to them. It is the attitude that is in question. This budget clearly indicates our leaders' narrow viewpoint on progress. How limited is their concern and how their world is so different from the world that is the real India. The main difference between the new and the old government is that the latter was concerned about poverty and took some token action to eradicate it, whereas the new government has written off even the token effort.

7997  
CSO: 4624/13

INDIA

BUSINESS LEADER URGES NEW PERSPECTIVE ON LABOR POLICY

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 15 Apr 85 p 9

[Text] NEW DELHI, April 14--In a memorandum submitted to the Union Labour Minister, Mr T. Anjiah, Mr Y. K. Modi, president-elect of the All-India Organization of Employers, has suggested that an industrial relations commission be set up and its functions be defined by the National Commission on Labour.

He stressed the need for a new perspective for the labour policy and removal of all restrictions on lay-offs, retrenchment and closures. Sound principles of economics warranted that management in every sector, public or private, have an option to adjust their expenses on all fronts to meet the inevitable curtailment in production owing to prolonged and drastic power cuts, adverse market conditions and natural calamities.

Mr Modi said the industrial relations scene was overcast by militancy, violence and indiscipline. Indiscipline had to be curbed.

One major factor for indiscipline was inter-union and intra-union rivalry, often arising from conflicting political affiliations.

The Trade Unions Act had become irrelevant. He felt that it was at the root of the present mushroom growth of trade unions.

Mr Modi praised the Prime Minister's "pragmatic measures to ensure discipline and create an atmosphere of purposefulness in all sectors".

He called for modernization and upgrading of technology to ensure optimum utilization of resources, including the adjustment of labour complement. Units which could not be modernized because of structural difficulties "must be allowed to die." Such unviable units would only compound industrial sickness

CSO: 4600/1539

INDIA

## RECORD FOODGRAIN STOCKS EXPECTED BY JULY

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 17 Apr 85 p 9

[Text]

NEW DELHI, April 16.

FOODGRAIN stocks are likely to swell to an unprecedented high level of nearly 30 million tonnes in the next two months, despite the recent relaxation of curbs on the purchase, stockholding and movement of grains by the private trade.

This would be far in excess of the desirable stock of about 20 million tonnes under the national food security plan.

Available warehousing space is already full, with an accumulated stock of about 23 million tonnes. Procurement of the new wheat crop has already started, aggravating the storage problem.

As much as five to six million tonnes of recently-harvested wheat may have to be kept in the open exposed to weather hazards, it is feared.

In a desperate bid to meet the imminent difficult situation, official agencies are planning to reintroduce the cap (covered and plinth) storage in a big way besides acquiring school and college premises in rural areas for temporary storage of grain during the summer vacation. The duration of the vacation may have to be extended or suitably adjusted for this purpose.

Inquiries here reveal that government agencies would have to buy over ten million tonnes of wheat in the current rabi marketing season. This is higher than the previous peak procurement of nearly 9.8 million tonnes last year.

Anticipating the problem of grain accumulation, the government had recently withdrawn curbs on the stock holding and movement of wheat by private trade. It has also placed wheat in the open general licence (OGL) category to encourage exports. Flour mills have been allowed to purchase wheat from the open market to meet their demand.

However, the immediate impact of all these measures would be only marginal, official circles feel. The size of the crop being large and the government being committed to providing the minimum support price to growers, official agencies have no choice but to lift substantial quanti-

ties of grain in the next two months. Besides, the commitments already made for the export of 500,000 tonnes of wheat to the Soviet Union, 200,000 tonnes to Romania and a gift of 100,000 tonnes to the drought-hit African countries, new deals for sales abroad are not forthcoming.

Higher purchases by private trade also may not have a significant effect on the official food inventory because of the anticipated fall in the grain offtake from the public distribution system.

Wheat harvesting is now in full swing and the new crop has started arriving in the market. According to the latest information available with the control room set up by the Food Corporation of India nearly 14,000 tonnes of wheat have already been marketed in mandis in Punjab, Haryana and U.P. Of this, over 8,000 tonnes has been purchased by the Central and state agencies and the rest mopped up by private trade.

The proportion of wheat bought by procurement agencies vis-a-vis the traders is likely to go up as the market arrivals pick up and prices fall below the statutory level of Rs. 157 a quintal. Growers in Punjab will get a bonus of Rs. 5 a quintal on the stocks sold to official agencies.

On the whole, about 5.5 million tonnes of wheat is expected to be procured in Punjab alone this year. This will be about 300,000 tonnes more than last year's procurement.

Though traders may be more active in this state this year than in the past, the total market arrivals are expected to be substantially higher. The bonus incentive is likely to result in diversion of grain stocks from the neighbouring areas of Haryana to mandis in Punjab.

Wheat procurement in Haryana is also anticipated to exceed last year's due to increased production. Official estimates place it around 1.9 million tonnes against 1.77 million tonnes last year.

Uttar Pradesh is fast emerging as a significant grain surplus state. It was the second largest contributor to the Central grain pool last year, next only to Punjab, relegating Haryana to the third position.

INDIA

REORGANIZATION URGED BY TELECOM PANEL CARRIED OUT

Madras THE HINDU in English 5 Apr 85 p 7

[Text]

NEW DELHI, April 4.

The bifurcation of the P and T Department has been formalised with the splitting up of the P and T Board into Postal Services Board and Telecommunications Board. The reorganisation is based on the recommendations of the Committee on Telecommunications, set up in May 1981, under the Chairmanship of Mr. H. C. Sarin.

According to an official announcement, the Department of Posts will function through the Postal Services Board which will be headed by the Secretary to the Department of Posts. It will consist of four members in charge of operations, development, personnel and finance besides the Chairman. The Secretary to the Board will be of the rank of Joint Secretary

The Department of Telecommunications to function through the Telecommunications Board will be headed by the Secretary to the Department of Telecommunications also of the rank of Joint Secretary to the Government. This Department will have five members in charge of operations, development, technology, personnel and finance. It will also have a Chairman.

The Telecommunications Board will, however, not handle work other than that relating to wireless planning and coordination, overseas communication service, Indian Telephone Industries Ltd. and Hindustan Teleprinters Ltd. These will be dealt with by the existing set-up of Additional Secretary and officers of the erstwhile Ministry of Communications. They will function within the Department of Telecommunications.

Orders have also been issued in respect of reallocation of erstwhile combined functions, staff and assets. The Department of Telecommunications will mainly be located in the "Sanchar Bhavan" and the Department of Posts in the "Dak Tar Bhavan". Telegraph services in small post offices ad in rural areas will continue to be rendered by the Department of Posts.—Our Special Correspondent.

CSO: 5550/0075

INDIA

EXERCISES REVIEWED FROM ABOARD INDIAN AIRCRAFT CARRIER

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 15 Apr 85 p 9

[Text] On Board INS Vikrant (Somewhere in the Arabian Sea), April 13--THE defence preparedness of the Indian Navy and its submarine, marine and aerial combat capability was demonstrated yesterday when the vice-president, Mr. R. Venkatraman, reviewed the naval exercises on board the INS Vikrant, the only aircraft carrier in South-East Asian waters.

Mr. Venkatraman spent a day on board Vikrant from where Vice-Admiral S. Mookerjee, FOC-in-C, western naval command, directed the operations of 15 assorted ships and seven types of aircraft during the cruise of the fleet in the Arabian Sea, off Goa.

The vice-president watched the impressive display of the naval strike power featuring missile launches, anti-missile manoeuvres, helicopter depthcharge and torpedo firing, simulated dogfight of the versatile Sea Harriers, endowed with a short take-off and vertical deck landing.

The four Sea Harriers squadron flew several formations under the command of Cdr. Arun Prakash, who also demonstrated how the high-speed (0.8 Mach) jet fighter could come to deadstop in mid-air like a knifefisher spotting an under-water prey and reverse directions without banking.

'Angels' Squadron

The "Jackstay" demonstration involving midsea replenishment of men and material in multi-ship configuration through ropeline was a spectacular event. The ropelines were fired from a gun when the looping ropes were held by the men in other ship from which the transfer of men and material was sought.

The Chetak helicopters are referred to fondly by sailors as the "Angels" squadron because of the many rescue missions it undertakes. Its big brother, a more sophisticated helicopter Seaking with strike capability to destroy submarines with depthcharge, dropped some ammunition, raising a splash of water. A similar sortie was performed by Kamov helicopter, the only one of its class to take part in the exercise.

Alizes, the first reconnaissance-cum-anti-submarine aircraft that takes off with steam-power catapulting effect and hook-lands on deck arrest cables, flew ceremonially for the last time.

The squadron was disembarked, 24 years after distinguished service with the INS Vikrant. Cdr. Ganesh Janakiram, who commanded the squadron for the last time from the deck, has flown the aircraft for 14 years, thus being bracketed with Cdr. Mohan Vergese as the two who have flown the Alizes the most.

The Soviet-built destroyer, Rajput showed its prowess when it engaged the missiles fired at her. She achieved two direct hits of the incoming missiles and deflected as many more off-course. The electronically-operated weaponry of the ship rose to the occasion by a performance considered "remarkable". The direct hit of a missile is pure ecstasy and the performance yesterday is ranked as a magnificent display of accuracy.

The missiles were fired at the Rajput by Godavary, the Leander-class frigate designed and built in India. Likely to take part at a flag-showing mission in the U.S. during the "Festival of India" in June, Godavary has attracted worldwide attention for the Indian ingenuity of being able to house two "Seaking" helicopters in the aft of the deck.

The Godavary is also credited with "marrying" the weapon and radar system of the west and the east. "We have been able to integrate the best of all the systems," said Capt. I. Bedi, captain of the ship, adding that the synthesis required a high degree of engineering capability.

The vessels which took part in the exercise were INS Vikrant, destroyer Rajput, frigates Godavary, Himgiri, Taragiri, missile vessels Viyayadurg, Sindhudurg, missile boats Prachand, Prabal, Pratap, and Charag; submarines Vagir and Vela; minesweepers Bhavnagar and Ratnagiri and seaward defence boats SDB T-52 and SDB T-57.

A demonstration in NBCD (nuclear, biological, chemical damage) control drill was also put up by the sailors. In this manoeuvre, the ship is controlled from a radiation-free console. The officers and men are protected from hazards in nuclear, biological and chemical warfare even as the ship is cruising in troubled waters.

The grand finale to the exercise was a flypast and cheer ship when the vice-president took the salute from Vikrant's forecastle starboard side. As the participating vessels sailed past, the sailors lined up the deck, and doffed their cap in salute.

In an address to the sailors at tea, Mr. Venkatraman said they had a crucial role to play in protecting the country's coast and maintaining peace in the Indian Ocean. In the evening, he cheered sailor-sportsmen during a friendly encounter of deck-hockey and tug-of-war.

CSO: 4600/1538

INDIA

DETAILS OF INDO-NORWEGIAN PACT ON COMPUTER TECHNOLOGY

Madras THE HINDU in English 15 Apr 85 p 10

[Text]

NEW DELHI, April 14:

India and Norway have signed an agreement on cooperative ventures in wide ranging areas of computer technology. It was the outcome of a meeting of the delegations of the two countries held here on April 11 and 12.

From the Norwegian point of view, the agreement is unique in the sense that it is for the first time it has entered into such an extensive technical collaboration with any country. For India, the significance stems from the fact that the cooperation will result in the availability of high-speed main-frame computers and in the transfer of "complete knowhow" software packages in the source-code format—the likes of which have earlier been refused to the country by the U.S. This agreement has no conditions whatsoever on the proposed transfer of technology.

This development is a follow-up of the memorandum of understanding (MOU) between India and Norway signed in Oslo in October 1984.

**Software development:** The accent of the collaboration will be on highly specialised software development suited to the Norwegian computer systems, and its export to Norway and, may be, even to a third country, especially from West Asia.

After the U.S. imposed embargoes on various advanced computer-based technologies, India evinced interest in the Norwegian achievement. As many as six main-frame computers have already been installed in the Bhabha Atomic Research Centre (BARC), Bombay, the first one having arrived in December 1983. These are ND-560/ND570 32-bit machines of Norsk Data Corporation with a 32-megabyte memory and a speed of 3.3 million instructions per second (MIPS), which can be pushed to 7 MIPS in an "optimised" Fortran operation. The indicated speeds are higher than some of the systems which could not be obtained from the U.S.

**Five more machines:** Five similar machines are due to come in shortly as part of this agreement. Three ND-560 systems will be received by the National Informatics Centre (NIC) of the Department of Electronics (DOE) to be placed at the existing regional CAD (computer aided design) centres in Bombay, Kanpur and Jada-

vpur. A ND-560 system for the National Institute of Oceanography, Goa, which was under negotiation for quite some time, has also been finalised. The fifth machine, which has already arrived and is awaiting customs clearance in Bombay, is for the Employees Federation of India, Bombay. The total cost of these is slightly over Rs. 5 crores.

**Joint programme:** A component of the agreement is to extend the existing cooperation in Computer Aided Engineering (CAD) into its second phase. Under this phase, a joint programme between NIC and the firm, A. S. Veritec, is being envisaged to establish and operate the regional CAE centres in Bangalore, Bombay, Calcutta and Kanpur as part of the proposed NIC computer network (NICNET)—a network based on Japanese NEC A-1000 supercomputers. All the non-linear CAD software packages of Veritec will be made operable on NICNET.

These centres, which via the network will have access to centralised sophisticated software, will train users and develop computer programmes of special interest to Indian industry. Export of CAE software, training and knowledge to third countries will also form part of the programme. Details of the proposal are expected to be worked out between NIC and Veritec before September 1, 1985.

As part of the first phase, some structural engineering design software packages have already been delivered to NIC by A. S. Computas and these have already been adapted to the Cyber 730 systems, the largest existing in the country today. Seventy engineers have been trained on these. Some of these packages are considered to be most extensive in the world. These provide entire design methodologies and some of these designs relate to the ONGC's work for dynamic positioning of offshore vessels and oil-drilling platform structures.

**Export company:** Establishment of an Indo-Norwegian software development and export company, probably in New Delhi, is another component of the agreement. A. S. Computas will be the leading Norwegian partner and, probably, a consortium of Indian companies will be the Indian counterpart. It is expected to be

set up by January 1, 1985. The technical and economic/financial-feasibility is being worked out. The particular product areas that will receive attention are software and turnkey systems, including hardware, for application within selected areas of high priority for developing countries, like communication, power, transport and agriculture.

**Apex structure:** An apex structure, situated in India, is also being considered which will be promoted by the DOE on the Indian side and by an appropriate agency on the Norwegian side. It will be called the Indo-Norwegian Software Development and Export Consortium (INSDEC).

Production of application software packages to add value to domestically produced ND 100 mini-computers is also part of the agreement. Production licence for these Norsk data design systems has been given to INDCHEM, Madras, which will also market these super mini-computers.

The agreement was signed by Dr. M. S. Sanjeevi Rao, Chairman, Electronics Commission and Mr. Anne Synne, Vice-Minister and Secretary, Department of Shipping and Trade, Norway.

CSO: 4600/1540

INDIA

BRIEFS

TRADE GAP STATISTICS--NEW DELHI, April 16--The trade gap during the first 10 months of 1984-85 stood at Rs. 3,863.8 crores against Rs. 4,294.7 crores during the corresponding period of the previous year. According to provisional export-import figures, the total exports during April-January 1985 are placed at Rs. 9,258 crores compared to Rs. 7,807.7 crores during the same period in 1983-84--an increase of 18.6 per cent. With this growth rate, commerce ministry officials were hopeful that the 1984-85 export target of over Rs. 11,000 crores would be achieved. Imports during the first 10 months of 1984-85 went up by 8.4 per cent to Rs. 13,122 cores against Rs. 12,102 crores during the corresponding period in the previous year. [Text] [Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 17 Apr 85 p 9]

MADURAI DISTRICT SPLIT--MADRAS, April 22--The Tamil Nadu Government has decided to bifurcate Madurai district into Maduri district with headquarters at Madurai and Anna district with headquarters at Dindigul. This follows the recommendations of an expert committee appointed by the Government to suggest reorganisation of larger districts in the State for a viable administration of the districts. A government notification stated that Mr. R. Varadarajulu, IAS, will continue as Collector of Madurai and Mr. M. Madhavan Nambiar, IAS, at present Collector of Dhamapuri, will be the Special Officer for the formation of the new Anna district. The Government has also decided to create two new revenue divisions of Palani consisting of Palani and Vedasandur taluks and Kodaikanal consisting of Kodaikanal taluk. The Nilakottai taluk in erstwhile Madurai district will be bifurcated to form a new taluk, Vadipatti. After bifurcation, Nilakottai and Vadipatti taluks will be in Anna district and Madurai district respectively. Madurai district will consist of the following revenue divisions and the taluks in brackets: Madurai (Madurai South, Madurai North, Melur and Vadipatti (new taluk); Usilampatti (Usilampatti and Thirumangalam) and Periyakulam (Periyakulam and Uthamapalayam). The new Anna district will consist of the revenue divisions (Dindigul (Dindigul, Natham and Nilakottai); Palani (new revenue division) (Palani and Vedasandur) and Kodaikanal (new revenue division (Kodaikanal). [Text] [Madras THE HINDU in English 23 Apr 85 p 1]

NAXALITE FACTIONS MERGE--Calcutta, April 22--The Communist Organisation of India (Marxist-Leninist) comprising six Naxalite factions, has decided to hold a convention at Naxalbari in Jalpaiguri district from May 18 to 24, according to a press statement issued by the organisation here today. The organisation was formed at a recent meeting in the city of the Organising

Committee of Communist Revolutionaries led by Mr Kanu Sanyal, Central Organising Committee of the CPI(ML) led by Mr Umadhar Singh, the Indian Communist Party (ICP-Karnataka) led by Mr M.H.Krishnappa, the Unity Centre for Communist Revolutionaries of India (Marxist-Leninist) led by Mr Shafique Chowdhury, the Liberation Front faction led by Mr Sobuj Sen and the CPI(ML) Kaimur Range faction led by Mr Ravi Shankar. [Text] [Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 23 Apr 85 p 4]

PLANNING MINISTRY PANEL--New Delhi, April 22 (UNI)--The government has constituted a new consultative committee of members of Parliament for the planning ministry with the Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, as chairman. Besides the minister of state for planning, Mr K. R. Narayanan, the committee includes eight members from the Lok Sabha and two from the Rajya Sabha. Those included from the Lok Sabha are: Mr Devendra Prasad Yadav, Mr Chandra Mohan Singh Negi, Mr Vidhi Chander Jain, Mr Uttam Rathod, Mr Pratap Singh Badhel and Mr Sharad Shanker Dighe (all Congress-I), Mr D. Narayana Swamy (Telugu Desam) and Mr Hannan Molla (CPI-M). The Rajya Sabha members include Mr Ghulam Rasool Matto (NC) and Dr Shanti Patel (Janata). Mrs Margaret Alva and Mr Ghulam Nabi Azad, ministers of state for parliamentary affairs, are ex-officio members of the panel. [Text] [Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 23 Apr 85 p 5]

INDO-SOVIET SHIPPING AGREEMENT--Panaji, April 16 (UNI)--Parity in cargo lifting and earnings from both bulk cargo and container traffic is envisaged in a protocol signed here at the end of the seventh session of the Indo-Soviet joint committee on shipping. The Soviet delegation of the meeting was led by Mr V. M. Nikolaichuk, deputy minister of the merchant marine of the USSR, and the Indian delegation was headed by Mr Prakash Narain, secretary, Union ministry of shipping and transport. The committee reviewed the working of the Indo-Soviet bilateral shipping agreement and creation of a joint Indo-Soviet shipping service. The committee deliberated on measures to promote containerisation in Indo-Soviet trade and participation of Indian member lines in the joint service in container traffic. The concluding session of the meeting was attended, among others, by the chairman and managing director of the Shipping Corporation of India, Vice Admiral R.K.S. Gandhi. The two sides expressed complete satisfaction with the working of the joint shipping service, which has witnessed a phenomenal increase from around 68,000 tonnes in 1957 to over 1.2 million tonnes in 1984. [Text] [Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 17 Apr 85 p 8]

DMKP NOW LOK DAL--NEW DELHI, April 16--The Dalit Mazdoor Kisan Party has decided to revert to the old name of Mr Charan Singh's party--the Lok Dal, reports UNI. In a statement here today, the party general-secretary, Mr Satya Prakash Malaviya, M.P., said in a statement: "The Dalit Mazdoor Kisan Party has decided to retain its earlier name, Lok Dal, which is widely known in common parlance and is recognized as a national political party by the Election Commission of India. The party also came to this decision because in all official records the name 'Lok Dal' has throughout been continuing. [Text] [Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 17 Apr 85 p 1]

OFFER TO AFGHANISTAN--KABUL, April 14 (UNI)--India has offered to increase its assistance to Afghanistan and further expand its technical collaboration in

the first five-year plan of this land-locked country to be launched later this year. Discussions have concluded here between senior officials of the two sides to finalise the proposals. India has suggested to Afghanistan the broad outlines for economic and technical cooperation programmes to be taken up during the next meeting of the Indo-Afghan joint commission. [Text] [Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 15 Apr 85 p 9]

INDO-SOVIET RADIO, TV COOPERATION--New Delhi--India and the Soviet Union have signed a protocol on exchange of television and radio programmes. The agreement, among other things, also provides for exchange of visits of experts in these fields. The protocol was signed by the Information Minister, Mr V.N. Gadgil, and Chairman of the Soviet State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting. Radio and TV programmes which reflect the rich cultures of the two countries and the various aspects of the lives of their peoples, their friendship and the progress achieved by them will be exchanged, according to the protocol.--UNI [Text] [Madras THE HINDU in English 31 Mar 85 p 4]

CSO: 5550/0072

IRAN

ECONOMIC COOPERATION WITH POLAND EXPANDING

Tehran BURS in Persian 14 Apr 85 pp 1,8

[Text] For the last 500 years relations between Iran and Poland have always been friendly, based on mutual respect, sufficient awareness of needs, and deep understanding of one another. Economic cooperation between Iran and Poland has also followed about the same system of sincerity, observing each other's customs and habits. The beginning of this relationship goes back to the 19th century, when Poland began the task of searching for crude oil in Iran. In the interval between World Wars I and II, a number of Polish experts helped build railroads, roads, and textile factories in Iran.

After World War II economic cooperation between Iran and Poland acquired new dimensions. Optimum economic growth in both countries came to need more of this cooperation due to their situation in world economic relations. The first sugar factory was built in Fariman in 1960, and it was also during this period that the sale of a series of complete factories to Iran began. For example, there were eight sugar factories, four refrigeration warehouses for food industries, a spinning factory, and several Polish factories equipped with machines and tools which are still being used in Iran. The birth of the Islamic Republic of Iran also created new possibilities for improving and expanding profitable mutual cooperation in various areas based on observance of the principle of mutual respect, equal participation, and non-intervention in one another's affairs. In view of the Iranian economy's priorities and needs, and those of Poland, arrangements were made with the Polish government for the long-term continuance and expansion of economic and industrial relations on an extensive scale in all areas, especially in cases where Poland is at a high level in terms of international criteria and standards and has sufficient experience. The Polish government's organizations are also interested in expanding participation and cooperation in other areas such as industry, agriculture, and mining, as listed below.

- 1 - Fisheries - Supplying fishing boats and cooperation and assistance solving mutual fishing problems, along with the training of Iranian specialists in the technology of fishing and industry.
- 2 - Construction and cooperation in areas such as the implementation of sugar factory projects, refrigeration units, flour mills, and the production of handicrafts for agricultural services.
- 3 - The construction of ports and the expansion of docking facilities.
- 4 - Cooperation in gaining familiarity with new machinery and equipment for use in mines, as well as efforts to expand and modernize casting plants.
- 5 - Cooperation with railroad building, road construction, and road building equipment.

6 - The planning and construction of various pharmaceutical and chemical factories.

7 - Supplying machinery and equipment for electrical factories and power stations with greater electrical power.

8 - Consultation in various matters pertaining to industry, agriculture, shipping, fishing, home construction, urban expansion, and many other areas.

Poland has a great desire to increase the volume of exports of machinery, technical assistance, steel and non-steel products, wire, cable, wood, paper products, various consumer goods, and chemical products to Iran.

Increased Polish exports to the Islamic Republic of Iran will enable Poland to buy more Iranian goods, and both countries have reached agreement in this area.

Both Iran and Poland are completely satisfied with the expansion of all economic relations, and profitable, successful contracts, talks at high levels between representatives of the two countries, the active participation of Iranian experts in Poland's international affairs and trade organizations, and in Tehran's international affairs are indications of the satisfaction of the two countries.

9310

CSO: 4640/538

IRAN

BANK OFFICIAL FORECASTS 10-11 PERCENT INFLATION FOR 1985

Tehran SOBH-E AZADEGAN in Persian 18 Mar 85 p 2

[Text] Tehran - ISLAMIC REPUBLIC NEWS AGENCY - The amount of cash in circulation was less than two percent in the year 1362 [21 March 1983 - 20 March 1984], and the minting of currency notes in that year was significantly lower than the previous year.

With the destruction of the Rafdin Bank, a severe blow was dealt to the Iraqi regime's banking system. Dr Mohsen Nurbakhsh, President of the Central Bank of the Islamic Republic of Iran, gave an exclusive interview to the ISLAMIC REPUBLIC NEWS AGENCY in which he discussed this matter and the results of the first year of operation of the interest-free banking law in our country's banking system. He said: Fortunately, the results after about a year of operation show that this law has been successfully implemented in practically every area. Its effects on the control of currency in circulation and the minting of currency notes have been noticeable; there has consequently been an important anti-inflationary effect on our country's economy, and it has been effective in the control of prices. He then predicted that with the current course of the country's economy, the rate of inflation for the year 1364 [21 March 1985 - 20 March 1986] will be 10 to 11 percent.

The President of the Central Bank discussed the distribution of profits from banking operations to depositors. He said: The size of the deposit dividends for the month of Farvardin [21 March - 20 April 1985] will be announced, and it will be high in any case.

Dr Nurbakhsh then denied the rumor that foreign exchange for travelers would be changed, and announced that no there has been no change.

He then commented on rumors circulating concerning 1000-rial notes. He said: Both 1000-rial notes, the one picturing the Dome of the Rock Mosque with its name and the one picturing it without the name, are worth the same. He said: The name of the mosque was removed because this mosque has other names also, such as the Mosque of Omar, and this has raised questions among Muslims in other countries. For this reason, because this mosque is symbolic, and to promote unity among Muslims, the name was removed.

Destruction of Iraq's Rafdin Bank, No. 2 Bank in Middle East

The President of the Central Bank then discussed the rocketing of Baghdad by the forces of Islam, which destroyed the great Rafdin Bank. He said: This bank is one of Iraq's five commercial banks built in 1974, and it is Iraq's only state commercial bank. Likewise, it is also considered the second largest bank in the Middle East.

He added: This bank had 22 billion dollars in assets, and its deposits and capital assets were around one billion dollars. This bank had 12,000 employees, and all of Iraq's commercial, domestic, and foreign affairs, as well as all the payroll affairs of Iraq's government institutions, were handled through this bank. Likewise, all credit instruments, import and export credit, domestic investment affairs, various currency accounts pertaining to foreign exchange and dinar surety bonds, and all other denominational paper instruments connected with institutions and international banks were centralized in this bank.

He then said: The rocket that hit this bank destroyed its huge central branch building, and what can be said from a specialist point of view is that this bank will have many difficulties repaying all those credit instruments, drafts, foreign exchange and dinar surety bonds, and foreign and domestic denominational documents.

He added: Even with the use of the Central Bank of this country's documents and its own reports, under these circumstances this bank will be unable to recover the destroyed documents. Clearly, irreparable damage has been done to this bank, and ultimately, to the banking system of the Iraqi Ba'thist regime.

The President of the Central Bank said: This has caused the Iraqi people to make a run on the bank to recover their deposits, and a great many people are also evading the repayment of their debts.

The President of the Central Bank then discussed banking services during the New Year's holidays. He said: Arrangements have been made so that in most provinces the National Bank and the rest of the banks will keep a branch office open during the holidays, to meet the emergency needs of the people, especially in the war-stricken areas.

9310  
CSO: 4640/537

IRAN

ARTICLE EXAMINES PRIME MINISTER'S VIEWS ON COOPERATIVES

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 23 Apr 85 p 18

[Text] Economic service. The second day of the seminar to examine the cooperative sector in the economy of the Islamic Republic of Iran continued yesterday afternoon with a speech by Engineer Mir Hoseyn Musavi, the prime minister.

According to a report by the economic correspondent of KEYHAN, following the prime minister's speech, the round-table discussion for the second day of the seminar was held with the participation of Hojjat ol-Eslam 'Amid Zanjani; Hojjat ol-Eslam Movahhedi-Savoji; Dr Zali, the minister of agriculture; Dr Shari'atmadari, member of the headquarters for the cultural revolution; and brother Amini of the research committee of the seminar and each spoke on the role of the cooperatives in the national economy and its relationship to the government and the private sector.

Relationship Between the Government and the Cooperatives

According to this report, first Hojjat ol-Eslam Fazel Harandi, the chairman of the seminar, spoke about how the seminar is held and its goals and said: The work of this seminar is to examine the cooperative sector, which has been anticipated in the Constitution. We do not intend to study the existing cooperatives that have had a major share in implementing our economic system. We hope this will not be the last seminar and that we will continue to witness the efforts in regards to examining the cooperatives in the national economy.

Another issue is the subject of discussion in the seminar today regarding the share and role of the cooperatives and the relationship of the government to the cooperatives. In the economic system, one of the best methods for preventing the

susceptibility to domination is the cooperative sector. If the duty and the responsibility of the government is to make efforts towards self-sufficiency, one of the ways is through cooperatives. Therefore, the share of the cooperatives in this direction must be studied in this seminar. Also, on the other hand, the relationship between the government and the cooperatives can be discussed.

Another issue is to provide resources for forming cooperatives, which must be studied separately in order to determine whether the government must give priority to this sector or whether this sector should remain alongside the government and private sectors.

#### Cooperative Sector is Disadvantaged

According to this report, Engineer Musavi, the prime minister, then spoke about the cooperatives in terms of dealing with them and their formation.

Engineer Musavi first said: I hope this important seminar can show how the cooperative sector is disadvantaged in the economy of the Islamic Republic of Iran and prepare the grounds so that, God willing, the Majlis will be able to deal with the issue thoroughly and an Islamic law which would promote the goals of the Islamic revolution and the interests of the oppressed people in the society would be ratified that would enable the government to implement it with power and force.

First, I would like to refer to the official statistics concerning the cooperatives and compare them during the period 21 March 1978-20 March 1985. In the statistical chart, which shows on the whole the trend of the changes of the urban non-worker cooperative companies in terms of the number of companies. In the area of the consumer cooperatives, by March 1979, we see a figure of about 466 cooperatives, whereas by 20 March 1985, we see about 2,532 cooperatives, a growth of 443 percent.

Housing cooperatives numbered about 559 during the period 21 March 1978-20 March 1979, reaching 2,469 cooperatives during the period 21 March 1984-20 March 1985, at [a growth of] 341 percent. Credit cooperatives numbered about 73 during the 1978-79 period and reached 156 during the 1984-85 period, and distribution cooperatives during the 1978-79 period numbered about 207 and reached 3,407 during the 1984-85 period, a growth of 1,543 percent.

On the whole, we should note that the total number of cooperatives in mid-winter of 1979 is 1,340. This number increases to a total of 8,632 by 20 March 1985, which is a significant figure.

The number of government cooperatives was 1,673 during the 1978-79 period and reached 4,454 in March 1985, an increase of about 166 percent. In other words, about 2,781 government cooperatives have been formed since the revolution.

Meanwhile, the number of rural cooperatives has shown less growth, from 2,939 cooperatives in mid-winter of 1979 to 3,099 by January 1985.

Engineer Musavi then said: When I examined the capital of these cooperatives, it became clear that, on the whole, it had reached 120 billion rials. You will find that this figure, in comparison to the figures in the national accounts, is not very high, but, in fact, rather small, especially if we consider the content of Article 44 of the Constitution, wherein the government and workers' cooperative sector are discussed and the private cooperatives are considered to complement these two.

Another point which I must make in connection with the growth of these cooperatives is that this growth took place in an atmosphere which impeded growth, and there was much confrontation to slow down this movement. Also, there were no expediting factors in terms of our own government structure, because of a lack of necessary laws in this area and insufficient speed to create laws which would facilitate these actions.

#### Lack of an Economic Model

Continuing his statements, the prime minister added: Also, expansive economic sectors and the lack of a specific economic model are among the problems of the Islamic Republic. Gradually this model will be defined and clarified. This lack of explication and clarity has created a situation which has not been advantageous to the expansion of the cooperatives, but has been restrictive. Nevertheless, as we see rather significant numbers in the area of cooperatives at the time this seminar is being held compared to the beginning of the revolution, in this area, we must place more value on the people's inclinations, interests and actions.

The prime minister then said: At a glance, I noticed that the growth of the cooperatives has resulted for the most part from the people having helped themselves rather than from the government having taken measures to expand these cooperatives.

An example is the share in the increase in rural investments, in which the central organization of rural cooperatives plays a very sensitive role, which is small compared to other cooperatives which have been established in cities, in the establishment of which the people play a large role.

This is a hopeful point and shows that, on the whole, since the revolution, the people have found hope in the cooperatives, which have been successful. Had it not been successful, we would have seen declining movements. In other words, we would have seen smaller figures year by year or we would have seen slower growth, whereas there has been no such thing. We see an increasing trend and these cooperatives must be seen as an experience.

This is an experience that has been gained without laws or institutions to strongly support the cooperatives. On the whole, if we value this issue, in the future we will be more successful.

But, in contrast to the beginning of the revolution, we can look back at the previous years and critically study the cooperatives to evaluate their weak and strong points, because such care will be beneficial in discussing the bill on cooperatives in the Majlis, and for this reason, this seminar is very important.

#### Important Discussion about the Cooperatives

On the other hand, the discussions here on the cooperatives will probably make some changes in light of our views about the economic issues, the divisions in this area and other laws that we have.

We have certain laws, general views and solutions, which, in the form of laws, include the economic decision on the government and public level in which no mention is made of the cooperatives. Attention is not paid to the cooperative sector on the same level as it is paid to the government and private sectors. An example is the Chamber of Commerce. Naturally, after the revolution, the government became more important to the Chamber of Commerce. But, at the same time, for a chamber which should indicate our general economic movement and all the economic movements of our country, if you notice, you will see that it has nothing to do with the cooperative sector. We also see the same situation in regards to other laws and official reports and statistics.

Therefore, one of the most urgent steps which must be taken in our regime--and we think that the passage of more than seven or eight years of discussions on the subject has prepared the grounds--is to clarify the limits on the activities of the private, cooperative and government sectors in our country. Perhaps in the first, second and third years of the revolution, we could not take clear steps in this area, to see all sides of the issue and to see the lines clearly. But now we can say that with the vast experience gained and the detailed discussions and criticism in this area, this task must be accomplished and the lines be drawn as soon as possible.

But this must be done while preserving the values of the Islamic revolution and the atmosphere in which the Assembly of Experts is held. We must deal with the cooperatives; they are necessary if we are to have the participation of all the people and the greatest strata of the society in economic areas to determine the various sectors in such an atmosphere. We must study the new regulations that we pass. This is an important point. In other words, we follow the line provided by the Constitution. We take lines from days such as 8 September, 5 June, and 11 February, from the atmosphere when our people stood united before the bullets in the streets. This is an atmosphere saturated with divine and Islamic values, in which Islamic values are looked at in their purest form. Consequently, the people discover their ideals in Islam and crystallize them through their representatives in the Assembly of Experts. If we lose that atmosphere or forget it, we cannot precisely offer a law to our country and our people which is worthy of the greatness of this revolution and in keeping with our Constitution.

This is a very important point. We must remember those days when discussions about defining a model, even though vague and general, were before us. On the one hand, we were pressured by the leftist groups, and on the other hand, the religious groups who followed their leader and their source of emulation and stressed Islam and religious law and, at the same time, had to observe the slogans of the Islamic revolution and the people's slogan of social justice. On the other hand, there were pressures on us from the groups on the right and the liberals we had in the society, which would prevent us from going in a direction worthy of the revolution and would implement social justice throughout the society.

He then referred to the pressures by the groups on the right and the left, which were imposed after the revolution in order to reemploy the management and owners of the factories and said: If we are able to offer an Islamic economic model to various Islamic [and non-Islamic] countries, this would be considered a kind of success for Islam and a kind of exportation of the Islamic revolution.

In the various economic discussions and within the framework of any step taken for the economy, these two models of the East and the West were on everyone's mind. We must not forget and must not suppose that these two models were not looked at in the Assembly of Experts, that the East and the West were criticized and the economic system was not criticized by those honorable people. There were many discussions about the East and the West, and about government rule and capitalism at the time. One of the issues that was discussed then and is still alive and will remain alive as long as the Islamic revolution exists, God willing, is that in this revolution, capital does not rule, whether it

belongs to the government or the private sector. Our country is one in which values, beauty, rules, and goodness rule, not capital and capitalists who, under the pretext of their capital, establish their rule in the society.

#### **Status Today is Determined by Values**

We were alert at that time and we must also be alert now, lest capital begins to determine the social status. This is an important point. Today, status is determined with values in the regime of the Islamic Republic. We learned this early in the revolution. It was said that some person had offered a martyr and he would receive a high place in the society. When we look at the alleys which bear the names of martyrs since 1978, we realize that symbolically, this value governs.

Why have the Reconstruction Crusade, the Guards Corps and the revolutionary institutions achieved such status in our society? Because they have upheld Islamic values and not through the government or status which is the result of desks, false worldly positions, money, and so on. This was the secret of our victory and it will be the same in the future. When we put together our future economic way, we must pay attention to this essential point and insist that we follow a road that would guarantee the rule of values and not that of money and capital, and it is precisely in this framework that the issue of cooperatives must be addressed.

Essentially, we begin a discussion on our economy in order to choose methods which would guarantee the rule of the values of the Islamic revolution in our society and oppose tyrannical characteristics and symptoms in our society. This is what we are after and cooperatives move in this direction.

In the Constitution we see the issue of social justice and attending to the oppressed strongly and powerfully addressed in a form which no one can harm. No one can deny this. It is not only economical, but political as well. We find no other Constitution in the world which is as explicit in regards to helping the oppressed as our own.

In the Constitution, the pure popular direction, in terms of social security, cooperatives and so on, can be seen.

The prime minister continued: And now we go back to the laws that we want to devise for our society. If we forget this issue, we would be, in fact, turning our backs on the Constitution. If we forget this spirit, we would be turning our backs on 11 February 1979 and the lofty ideals of the Islamic revolution of the people.

The people wanted idealistic values which included the elimination of any sort of political domination resulting from economic domination. Social justice was one of the slogans that they believed in and still believe in. The Majlis moves in this direction strongly and we must emphasize mostly this issue in devising all laws. Of course, none of these is contrary to our ideology; they precisely conform to it. We take these values from our ideology.

Where did the people find these values? We had a colonialist culture in our country and, on the surface, certain signs of the shadow of the civilization of the grand Ariyamehr were drawn for the people and they were promised a Peykan [automobile].

How did the people rush towards these values? Was it through Marxist books or "Nahj ol-Balagheh"? Did they come to support these values through the Koran or through socialism?

Did the people not come to support these Islamic values through the clerics?

What I can say has been my experience in regards to the movement of the government is that in our country an atmosphere was created such that when there was a discussion about cooperatives, it seemed as if the country was about to move towards socialist solutions. Is it socialism if we strengthen cooperatives or have we moved towards the Eastern model? It is by no means so. Our experience is that throughout our country the grounds for economic activities are so vast and plentiful that all three sectors--government, cooperative and private--can exist strongly side by side and within the framework of Islamic regulations. If in the past we could not say this and were frightened by this issue, we now feel precisely where the cooperatives have blocked the free activities of the private sector who want to move within the religious, Islamic framework.

If up to a few years ago it was said that the movement of the economic activities of the country will change the shape of the society to a socialist country in the Soviet camp, today we have more clear evidence to reject this idea. There are areas about which we feel very comfortable and we have matured enough in economic matters not to make such a statement, not to reason in this manner, and to reject this idea. We think that in the regime of the Islamic Republic of Iran, these three sectors can exist strongly as complements to one another. Each one of these sectors can be in charge of one section of the activities that are necessary in our society. Naturally, the activities that are under the control of the government, and must be under its control on the basis of Article 44 of the Constitution, cannot be given up, because they are vital to the independence and freedom

of the country. Our steadfastness prevents such problems as the influence of foreigners.

These activities are not carried out by the private sector, which would not be legal either. They are controlled by the government. The banks have been nationalized and are now in the hands of the government. Heavy industries are in the government as well as those sectors that have been mentioned in the law, including foreign trade. We hope its dimensions are clarified and become a tool in the hands of the government to fully implement Article 44 of the Constitution and that we will have no problems.

#### Advantages of Creating Cooperatives

Engineer Musavi continued: We have the cooperative sector. If we look at its advantages and the motivations of the people in joining the cooperatives, we will see that besides the fact that we follow a correct policy, we gather small amounts of capital and bring the relationship between capital and work closer. At the same time, we will be able to make ultimate use of the spiritual motivations of the people.

Despite the imperfections of local consumer cooperatives, I think their problems often stem from a lack of sufficient support by the government rather than from within. These motives are quite clear.

#### The Role of the Private Sector in the Economy

The prime minister added: We say the private sector plays its role more strongly, properly and soundly every day. We have had no setbacks in this area. If we speak of the cooperative sector and the government sector, we have in mind the independence and the long-term interests of the country. It is within this general stance that we place some limitations on such activities, that is, the three sectors. Naturally, our committed private sector, which is interested in the independence of the country and the ideals of the Islamic revolution, is moving in this direction. The government must not oppose this movement but must demand it.

Because the private sector defends the values of the Islamic revolution, has moved in this direction and has played an effective role in this area and cannot oppose the cooperative and government sectors. This sector, as the slogan has frequently stated, views itself alongside the cooperative and government sectors. Even though we had no experience in this area in the past and we could not talk about it, today we are able to speak much easier. Today, there are very clear experiences which show the healthy inclination of the government to encourage the

participation of the people, through both the private and the cooperative sectors. This is a trend which is required both by the society and the Majlis and above all are the directives of the imam of the people that show us the way. Naturally, we heard about one sector being preferred over another. I think discussions of this nature are wrong, but such discussions continue. At times this side is attacked and at other times the other side. The history of the cooperative movement began in Europe and then reached the ideas of Marx and Mao, reaching various countries, even the Ariyamehr regime. It is said that since the Marxists, the Soviet Union, China and the shah have defended cooperatives, cooperatives are "bad" and we do not want to start from this base. Our base of movement is for discussions to take place in connection with economic responsibilities. Essentially, the point is, how can we protect Islam in our country; how do we preserve the values which have stemmed from our ideology and Islam in our society; how can we perpetuate the rule of these values; and how must we move to ensure that neither the government nor the owners of money and capital can harm the political fate of the country and the fate of the free movement of the people under an Islamic framework?

The rule of the government in these three sectors, I believe, must be like a father. The government is responsible for dealing with all three sectors. When we speak of the government sector, if our understanding of the government sector is that "government" means we must protect it, this would be the worst interpretation of an Islamic government. The government must place itself in a position to ensure that each of the three sectors are made use of in their own place.

#### Participation of the People in Economic Affairs

He then referred to the participation of the people in economic affairs and said: We have frequently explained our policy about economic issues. Following the statements of the imam in this connection, many discussions have been conducted on the subject and the government has frequently spoken about the new steps that must be taken.

Today in this seminar in which the cooperative sector is being discussed, we must raise the issue that one effective way of having the people participate in economic affairs is through the cooperatives. We do not consider the cooperatives a part of the government at all. In the government sector, the government provides certain facilities, collects the work force from various areas and helps and encourages us concerning our need for investments.

In any case, I will announce the general policy of the government. On the whole, we welcome any sort of investment by

the private and cooperative sectors. At the same time, if we want to use the term support and if the government serves the oppressed and the downtrodden, naturally, the support of the government for small investments and the work force is separate from investments. The government has to somehow help them, employ their forces, and expand them on larger dimensions in order to help them thrive and spread the values of the Islamic revolution in the society. This can be considered a duty of the government, and we sense this issue precisely in the Constitution. But at the same time, as it has been seen in recent months, on the whole, we have welcomed any sort of investment by the private sector. Concerning the agreements in principle, too, there have been frequent discussions.

It is proper, when we speak here about various kinds of cooperatives, to give our opinion about production cooperatives and stress their role in the advancement of economic issues and in economic growth.

Then, the round-table discussion on the second day of the seminar was held with the participation of Hojjat ol-Eslam 'Amid Zanjani; Hojjat ol-Eslam Movahhedi-Savoji, representative of the Majlis; Dr Zali, minister of agriculture; Dr Shari'atmadari, member of the headquarters of the cultural revolution; and brother Amini, from the research committee of the seminar.

#### Necessity of the Existence of Cooperatives

First, Hojjat ol-Eslam 'Amid Zanjani said: Usually, the issue of the cooperatives is considered important for two reasons, firstly, because of the extraordinary economic conditions, such as war, the economy, and so on, and, secondly, to prevent inflation in investments and the destructive consequences of the capitalist system.

He added: Although cooperatives stem from capitalism and have evolved in the Marxist system, they are a way to escape the government control of the economy and the harmful consequences of the capitalist system. First, the nature of the cooperatives must be clarified in order for us to be able to discuss them. There are three kinds of cooperatives: first, cooperatives in which the government controls investments; second, cooperatives which rise from the private sector, the investments of which come under the control of the government; and, third, those which perpetuate private ownership and the investments of members with the distribution of profits. In Articles 10 through 13 of the Soviet Constitution, the cooperative sector is discussed as a part of the government and a part of the economy.

Here, there are many vague points to us. My personal understanding of the issue is that in Islam, we have two kinds of

injunctions, one institutional and the second approved. Ownership is among the latter, the issues of which are very interesting and include private ownership.

In conclusion, he said: Considering that the ideological burden of the economic system is a movement from the individual towards the collective, it can be concluded clearly that cooperatives in the economic system can have a very interesting place, because in the economic system, the movement must be towards the collective.

#### Cooperatives and Agricultural Revitalization

As the second speaker of the round-table discussion, Dr Zali, the minister of agriculture, referred to the role of the cooperatives in revitalizing agriculture and increasing agricultural products and said: The policy of agricultural revitalization was formed on the revitalization of villages or revitalization of agriculture in the villages. In other words, taking half the population country in the villages, when we want to move towards revitalizing agriculture, this movement must be in connection with the villages.

He added: We have 3.7 million rural families living in our villages and if we look at the area of their land, we realize that about 36 percent of them have less than 2 hectares of land, about 87 percent less than 10 hectares, 98 percent less than 50 hectares, and 2 percent have more than 50 hectares. If we want to revitalize the villages, we cannot be inattentive to their economy. The income of the villagers for various reasons, including the small plots of land, is not enough to keep them on the land and, consequently, they are absorbed by false jobs in the cities.

The minister of agriculture then referred to the negative effect of the policy of land reform on agriculture and said: We must do something about management and the methods of production in the villages. In this connection, the cooperatives can play a very effective role.

If we want to make full use of the land, we must face the issue in the context of the cooperatives, and by no means does this issue bring them under government control; it, rather, means leaving the people's business to the people.

In conclusion, he added: If we form the cooperatives, the members themselves can in an orderly fashion move towards more production at the village level. In regards to protecting the rural cooperatives, the government can take steps.

## Cooperatives and Islam

Brother Amini, a member of the research committee of the seminar, as the third speaker, spoke about the relationship of the cooperatives, the views of the liberals concerning the economy, the views of the socialists and the polarization of the society.

He added: Obviously, Islam rejects such an ideology and dictates the involvement of the government.

The Islamic government can bring the people on the scene through the cooperatives. In other words, with the principle of general participation and giving capital and work to individuals, it can make the people active and able to gain economic independence.

## People and Cooperatives

Hojjat ol-Eslam Movahhedi-Savoji, representative of the Majlis, was the next speaker. He referred to the various instances in the various articles of the Constitution in which the role of the cooperatives and the people in economic activities have been stated.

Hojjat ol-Eslam Savoji said: The issue under discussion in today's session is the "share and role of the cooperative sector in the economy of the Islamic Republic and its connection with the government."

First, in connection with the share and role of the cooperative sector, I must say that our best source and document is the Constitution and certainly our regime is based on laws. Therefore, we must take the framework of the economy from it.

He added: The economy of the Islamic Republic in the manner that has been mentioned in the Constitution is, in fact, an economy which has been explained to us by certain signs.

Then he referred to examples from various paragraphs of the Constitution and said: Undoubtedly, the government in this system, since it has the resources, capital and, in short, whatever it has in its power, must direct them such that its benefits would not be controlled by an individual or particular individuals. All the people must benefit from all the resources, and here the issue of the cooperatives is raised.

Therefore, the issue of the cooperatives is discussed with these goals and aims. The government, which is responsible for procuring the urgent needs of the individuals in the society and implementing social justice, must make use of all the three sectors in the economy that the law and the Majlis have determined for it.

In conclusion, he said: I hope this seminar can be effective in raising the issue of the law for cooperatives in the Majlis committee.

IRAN

PLAN TO ISSUE WORK PERMITS TO AFGHANS DETAILED

Tehran SOBH-E AZADEGAN in Persian 10 Apr 85 p 11

[Interview with deputy for social affairs and employment of the Ministry of Labor concerning employment permits for Afghans by press, radio and television on 9 Apr 85; place not specified]

[Text] News division.

The deputy for social affairs and employment of the Ministry of Labor explained the employment plan and the issuance of employment permits for the Afghan Muslim refugees in a press, radio and television interview yesterday morning.

First, offering his greetings to the imam of the nation and the nation of the imam and with wishes for the victory of the Islamic combatants, the rapid recovery of the self-sacrificers, the release of the Islamic prisoners, and the increasing success of the operators and servants of the Islamic Republic and the Hezbollah nation, he said: After the political and social changes which occurred in the spring of 1978 in our neighboring country of Afghanistan, our Islamic Iran faced the arrival of a large number of Afghan Muslim brothers. This trend increased with the victory of the Islamic revolution of Iran on 11 February 1979 and every day, the number of Afghan Muslim refugees in the Islamic country increased. The presence of the Afghan Muslim brothers in Iran and the problems concerning their residence and employment forced the executive organizations of the Islamic Republic to make comprehensive studies of the issue of the presence of our brothers and, with consideration for our resources and the principles stated in our Constitution in regards to foreign policy, to study, anticipate and provide certain services for this group of Afghan Muslim refugees. This task began early in the spring of 1980 and, in the Ministry of the Interior, a council for Afghan refugees made up of the representatives of the concerned organizations was formed. Following investigations and preliminary studies, especially the issues of concern to the Ministry of Labor, studies about the presence of the brothers in the job market of the Islamic country

obliged the Ministry of Labor to identify certain employment areas and to study the reasons for the domestic work force not being absorbed in these areas. Then, considering the priorities and employment policies, which are made up of the duties and authority of the Ministry of Labor, with the cooperation and coordination of the council for Afghan refugee affairs, a plan to be prepared and, after its approval by this council and the Minister of Labor, to be implemented as the temporary employment plan for the Afghan Muslim refugees. This plan followed the plan for the identification and issuance of identity cards for Afghans residing in Iran. As you know, through the Ministry of Labor and its affiliated organizations in the provinces, steps were taken to identify and issue cards for our Afghan Muslim brothers. The next stage is, considering the significant number of Afghan Muslim brothers who have identity cards, that the Ministry of Labor will begin the employment plan and the plan for issuing temporary employment permits in coordination with the Ministry of the Interior and the affiliated organizations. On this basis and on the basis of the studies which have been carried out, it was determined that at present, we are able to implement this plan in 12 identified employment areas for Afghan refugees who have obtained identity cards from the Ministry of Labor, Offices of the Governors General, Governors' Offices and organizations affiliated with the Ministry of Labor in accordance with the regulations and authority conferred in Article 10, Paragraph 9 of the foreign national employment bylaws and within the framework of Article 59 of the labor law and the related notes, upon the approval of the Minister of Labor and Social Affairs, our honorable brother Mr Sarhaddizadeh. The employment areas are: (1) brick kilns, (2) urban construction, (3) loading and unloading, (4) work in mines, (5) (salambur) manufacturing, (6) farms and agriculture in agricultural provinces, except for Tehran Province, (7) animal husbandry and poultry raising, (8) glass blowing, (9) small plastic melting workshops, (10) road and canal building, (11) plaster and limestone kilns, and (12) leather manufacturing. Considering studies made by the experts of the Ministry of Labor and the sampling made in the past two years, these 12 areas are examples of jobs for which, provided there are no Iranian applicants, employers may request permission to employ Afghan Muslim brothers through the Ministry of Labor and the central affiliated offices, to be selected from among that group of Afghans who hold valid identity cards in accordance with the specified percentages. The issue to which attention must be paid before this plan can be enacted is that at present there are a large number of Afghans who are illegally employed, and because they have no permits, their rights are not observed. Often their payment is far different from that stated in the law. They are not protected by the labor law, which protects legal employees. They have no health and insurance coverage and, on the whole, their rights are not observed. This plan to some extent addresses the observance of their work rights. That group

of Afghan Muslims who receive employment permits from the Ministry of Labor and the central offices of labor and social affairs as well as those who receive employment permits from the Ministry of Labor and its offices in the provinces may go to the offices of labor and social affairs if they have work-related problems involving vacations, wages, and work contracts. The arbitration committees and the councils of the workshops, as determined in the labor law, will take steps to uphold their rights. On the whole, the law will protect the Afghans with employment permits as it does the Iranian nationals. In another part of his speech, he said: The employment plan has been devised such that:

1. In the above-mentioned job areas, our economic activities would not become dependent on a foreign labor force. On this basis, at present, after the necessary studies, we suggest that the maximum number of Afghan workers permitted to work in the units not reach more than 40 percent. This is the highest permitted ceiling accepted by the Ministry of Labor at present. At all implementary stages of the plan, employment priority will be given to Iranians. In other words, if we have shortages in the work force, provided there are no Iranian applicants, with the coordination of the central offices of labor and social affairs of the provinces and the units of the council on Afghan affairs in the provinces, located in the Offices of Governors General, we will make use of that group of Afghans who have identity cards. The procedure is for the Ministry of Labor to issue employment permits to the employers in these 12 job areas in implementing Article 10 of the labor law, which prohibits the employment of foreign nationals in Iran except in accordance with certain regulations, which are determined by the labor law. Of course, in Article 10 of the labor law, there are exceptions for the employment of some foreign nationals, such as in the diplomatic agencies, the UN offices and organizations affiliated with the United Nations, which are exempted from Article 10 of the labor law. Note 4 of Article 10 specifies that employers and establishments are not permitted to employ foreigners without work permits. Also, according to Article 59 of the labor law and the note to Article 59 of the labor law, those who employ illegal foreign nationals will be sentenced to 61 days to 1 year in jail and a cash fine of 10,000-50,000 rials. As it is its responsibility to protect and regulate the job market and distribute the job opportunities among the work applicants, the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs stresses to all employers of various economic sectors, both public and private, that, before hiring any individual, they observe the points stated in Article 59 of the labor law and its Note 4. Specifically, the work permit which is issued for foreign nationals or the employment permit which is issued in this specific case for Afghans is valid for the employer to whom the work permit or employment card is issued.

The procedure for announcing the request is that in the provinces, needs for the foreign labor force, or needs for a labor force in general, are announced twice by the offices of labor and social affairs and the employment service centers through the local mass media. If after two weeks from the date of the announcement in the local mass media there are no Iranian applicants for employment in the 12 job areas determined, with the coordination of the council on the affairs of Afghans in the provinces, located in the Offices of Governors General, temporary employment permits will be issued under the supervision of the central offices of labor and social affairs in these 12 job areas upon the request of employers for Afghans who have obtained identity cards from the Ministry of Labor. On the basis of the forms and questionnaires and the necessary precautions taken by the Ministry of Labor, which have been announced to all the central offices of labor and social affairs in the provinces, the plan has been implemented from 9 April 1985 in a coordinated manner in all the provinces of the Islamic country. According to the reports we have received from the central offices of labor and social affairs in the provinces, it has also been announced by our colleagues through the mass media and it has been determined that from today (yesterday) employers who need a work force in these 12 areas will gradually apply to the central offices of labor and social affairs. Through circular letters and instructions that have been issued previously, after receiving the related documents from the employers, these offices will take the necessary steps to issue employment cards for those Afghans who hold identity cards from the Ministry of Labor and who are needed by the employers of production establishments. Several points must be made and the attention of the employers must be called to them.

The first point is that these employment cards are valid for no more than 1 year and the employers are responsible to reapply 15 days before their expiration to the central offices of labor and social affairs for hiring Afghan workers.

2. Employment cards are issued for employment in a specific area and with a specific employer. If the contract between the employer and the Afghan employee is cancelled for whatever reason and the Afghan worker leaves his employment, the employer is responsible for immediately informing the nearest unit of labor and social affairs and the central offices of labor and social affairs in the capitals of the provinces. Failure to do so on the part of employers will warrant prosecution.

Another issue is that if there are needs outside the 12 job areas specified in the provinces and there are no Iranians available for employment in those jobs, or in instances of their numbers being over 40 percent, committees in the provinces will study the issue. These committees are made up of the director general of

labor and social affairs, the head of the council for Afghan affairs of the province, and the director of the office of employment of the province. This committee studies the needs and if they conform to those specified in this employment plan, it will take steps. In job levels and areas other than what has been determined in the instructions, they must ask the opinion of the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs. Upon the written agreement of the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, they will issue employment permits. We hope that by implementing this plan and by issuing employment permits for this group of Muslim Afghan refugees we will be able to impose more order on the existing job market and prevent disorganized work and duplications; thus, God willing, we will be able to make use of our work force in the job markets and in job opportunities. The employment permits are valid for one year and will specifically be given to that group of Afghan refugees who have received identity cards from the Ministry of the Interior and the related Offices of the Governors General. No Afghan may personally request an employment permit; the application must come from the employer. The cards for the employment of Afghan individuals are intended for work for a specific employer and a specific job. Any sort of provincial job or employer change is unacceptable. In the event that there is no further need for the labor of the Afghan Muslim refugees or should the Afghan refugees leave employment, we expect the employers to report to the central local office of labor and social affairs. In order to implement this plan well, the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs and the central offices of labor and social affairs in the provinces will periodically send inspectors to the unit. If it is observed in a unit that any foreigners, including Afghan Muslim refugees or any other illegal foreign national, are employed, the employer and the director of that unit will be dealt with in accordance with the regulations in Article 59 of the labor law and the related notes. We stress to all employers, in both the private and government sectors, that they implement precisely the regulations of the labor law, especially in regards to the use of foreign nationals. We announce that the Ministry of Labor, considering the determined policies, is prepared to cooperate with the employers to secure the needed work force, whether from the domestic market or from foreign nationals, and it is able to provide these forces. We strongly emphasize that before hiring any foreigner, the labor inspectors inform the central offices of labor and social affairs, the centers of employment services in the provinces and cities and in Tehran, and the central office of employment services of the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs in order to avoid inspection problems and the fines for violations, in accordance with Article 59 of the Ministry of Labor.

He was asked: What are the regulations in dealing with violating employers and how will such employers be treated? In response, he said:

Article 59 of the labor law explicitly states that employers who employ foreign nationals without valid work permits will be sentenced to misdemeanor imprisonment from 61 days to 1 year and cash fines of 10,000-50,000 rials. Those employers who engage in hiring foreign nationals without work permits will be treated in accordance with this legislative article. From 20 April on, this will be implemented in regards to the Afghans, but in regards to other nationalities and foreign employees, this has been implemented before and we will have many instances of the prosecution of employers who have violated Article 59 of the labor law concerning the hiring of foreign nationals. While we are dealing with the employer, we will also make preparations for the expulsion of illegal foreign nationals. In this connection, there is constant cooperation between the central employment office for the foreign nationals of the Ministry of Labor and the foreign national residency office of the Police Department and other affiliated organizations of the Ministry of the Interior.

The deputy labor minister for social affairs and employment was asked: Will there be a separate minimum wage for Afghan workers or will they be subject to the labor law? He responded:

The regulations of the labor law apply to all persons subject to the labor law. Nowhere in the law or the circular letters have we seen these regulations and the bylaws concerning minimum wages specified for a particular group or nationality. Certainly, the regulations of the labor law, the related circular letters, the minimum wage, and all the labor rights, including vacations, official holidays, insurance, retirement, and all labor rights and issues concerning labor rights can be implemented in regards to foreign individuals who are permitted to be employed. One of the instances that is included in this plan is that with the legal employment of and the issuance of permits for this group of Afghan Muslim refugees, we will protect their rights. All the circular letters concerning the work hours, work days, holidays, wages and other regulations of the labor law will be implemented in regards to them.

In response to the question concerning the Afghans not working in areas related to the people's food, he said:

Last summer, according to the information that was sent from the regional health organizations and central office of labor and social affairs, it was observed that in those places which are connected with cooking and food, Afghans are used, none of whom have work permits or the necessary health permit which is issued by the health department of the region. Based on this fact, through a circular letter, all labor and social affairs offices have been instructed to deal with the illegal employment of Afghans and those who have no health permits in the units which concern cooking and food. Our brothers in the central offices,

through cooperation with the Offices of the Governors General, have been active in this regard and often on the basis of information obtained, those units are closed in order to prevent epidemics. Fortunately, in most provinces, this plan has been successful and is now being followed up and continued.

10,000  
CSO: 4640/540

IRAN

95,000 BUILDING PERMITS IN 7 MONTHS

Tehran BURS in Persian 11 Apr 85 pp 1, 5

[Text] The Central Bank's Office of Economic Statistics reports that in the month of Mehr in the year 1363 [23 Sep - 22 Oct 1984] building permits issued by the country's various municipalities totaled more than 13,220, which is a 43.2 percent increase over the same month in the previous year. These permits cover a total of 2.5 million square meters of foundation, which is a 40.2 percent increase over the same period in the previous year. Of all the building permits issued by the municipalities, 8.5 percent were in Tehran's 20 affiliated municipalities, 27.3 percent were in the large municipalities, and the remaining 64.3 percent were in the other municipalities. Of the total area of foundation space, 18.2 percent was in Tehran, 27.7 percent was in the large municipalities, and the other municipalities had 54 percent.

The average foundation area of these buildings was 186.6 square meters, a 2 percent decrease from the same period last year. Most of the building permits issued in the country's municipal areas were for single-story structures, at 44.9 percent; 17.6 percent were two-story, and 7.4 percent were three stories or more. Compared to the figures for the same period last year, single-story structures increased 51.9 percent, two-story structures 11.1 percent, and three or more stories increased 60.6 percent.

During the first seven months of 1363 [21 Mar - 22 Oct 1984] building permits were issued for 95,555 new buildings throughout the country totaling 18.3 million square meters of foundation, a 20.3 percent increase in quantity and a 17.8 percent increase in foundation area.

The average foundation area of these buildings was 191.1 square meters, a 2.1 percent decrease over the same period last year. For the period reported, of all permits issued in the country's urban areas, 70.4 percent were for single-story structures, 22 percent were for two-story structures, and the remaining 7.6 percent were for structures with three stories or more. In this period, the number of permits issued for single-story structures, two-story structures, and structures with three or more stories compared to the same period last year increased 24.9 percent, 64.9 percent, and 0.8 percent respectively.

Tehran

In the month of Mehr in the year 1363 [23 Sep - 22 Oct 1984], the 20 Tehran municipalities issued building permits for 1,120 new buildings with around 0.4 million square meters of foundation area, a 3.7 decrease in quantity and a 30.4 percent decrease in area from the same period last year. In the month reported, the average foundation area for permits issued in Tehran was 201.3 square meters, a 14.6 percent growth over the same period last year. Of all the

permits issued in Tehran, 7.1 percent were for single-story structures, 49 percent were for two-story structures, and 43.8 percent were for three-story structures or larger. During this month, the number of permits for single-story and two-story structures decreased 52.1 and 1.6 percent respectively; in the same connection, permits for structures with three or more stories showed a great increase (around 146.7 percent).

During the first seven months of 1363 [21 Mar – 22 Oct 1984] a total of 7,393 building permits were issued for new buildings in the 20 Tehran municipalities, a 11.4 percent decrease from the same period last year. The foundation area of these buildings totals 2.6 million square meters, which is 9.5 percent less than for the same period last year.

The average foundation area for these buildings is 358.3 square meters, a 2.1 percent increase over the same period last year. For the period reported, in Tehran single-story structures were 10 percent, two-story structures were 55.5 percent, and 34.5 percent were three stories or more. A comparison of the figures for building permits issued in Tehran during these two periods shows an increase in structures with three or more stories during the first seven months of 1363 [21 Mar – 22 Oct 1984], increasing from 456 permits in the same period the previous year to 2,547 permits. The same comparison shows a 60.6 percent decrease in the number of permits for single-story structures and a 31.7 percent decrease for two-story structures.

#### Large Cities

In the month of Mehr in the year 1363 [23 Sep – 22 Oct 1984] the large municipalities issued permits for 3,606 new buildings, a 29.8 percent increase over the same period last year. These buildings had a total of around 0.8 million square meters of foundation area, 18.6 percent more than that figure for the same period the previous year.

The average foundation area for these buildings was 189.7 square meters, an 8.6 percent decrease from the same period the previous year. For the month reported, single-story structures were 65.7 percent of the total permits issued, two-story structures 24.4 percent, and those with three or more stories were 9.9 percent. A comparison of the total permits issued in this period with the same period last year shows an increase of 47 percent for single-story structures, 3.9 percent for two-story structures, and 11.9 percent for structures with three or more stories. During the first seven months of 1363 [21 Mar – 22 Oct 1984] the big municipalities issued a total of 29,257 building permits for new buildings with a total of six million square meters of foundation area, an increase of 38.5 percent in quantity and 40.4 percent in foundation area over the same period the previous year.

The average foundation area for these buildings is 204.9 square meters, which is a decrease of 5.8 percent over the same period the previous year. Of the total permits issued, 60.6 percent were for single-story structures, 28.2 percent for two-story structures, and 11.2 percent for structures with three or more stories.

During the first seven months of 1363 [21 Mar – 22 Oct 1984] the total number of permits issued compared with the same period the previous year increased by 62.7 percent for single-story structures, 12.6 percent for two-story structures, and 13.2 percent for structures with three or more stories.

### Other Urban Areas

During the month reported municipalities in the rest of the country issued building permits for 8,494 new buildings with around 1.3 million square meters of foundation area, 55.4 percent increase in area in quantity and a 59.2 percent increase in area over the same period the previous year.

The average foundation area of these buildings was 156.9 square meters, a 2.5 percent increase over the same month the previous year. Of all permits issued in the rest of the country's urban areas, 87.8 percent were for single-story structures, 10.6 percent were for two-story buildings, and 1.6 percent were for structures with three or more stories. Compared with figures for the same month the previous year, single-story, two-story, and three-story or larger structures increased 57.3 percent, 62.9 percent, and 43.6 percent respectively.

During the first seven months of 1363 [21 Mar – 22 Oct 1984] municipalities in the rest of the country issued permits for a total of 58,905 new buildings, a 17.8 percent increase over the figure for the same period the previous year. These buildings will have a total foundation area of 9.6 million square meters, which is a 20.5 percent increase over the figure for the same period the previous year.

9310  
CSO: 4640/538

IRAN

**EDITORIAL JUSTIFIES EXISTENCE OF MINISTRY OF HEAVY INDUSTRIES**

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 23 Apr 85 p 12

[Text] There is no doubt that heavy industries are especially important to countries of the Third World. The importance of this becomes more evident when we look more carefully at the dependency-forming industrial policies of the imperialist nations towards the Third World.

In a speech in early Moharram of 1350 [21 March 1971 – 20 March 1972], David Rockefeller, the father of world capitalism and a prominent expert on imperialist economics, speaking in a sympathetic tone, advised developing countries that just as it is important for them to obtain heavy industries, they must also give importance to the creation and expansion of strategic secondary industries! Strategic secondary industries are the ones that meet the false consumer needs artificially created by imposing unhealthy patterns of consumption on these nations. One word from David Rockefeller is supposed to guide developing countries to an agreement to create "consumer industries," which undoubtedly bring with them the bonds of slavery.

Therefore, when a revolution occurs in a dominated country and it attains political independence, the first order of business is to change the production lines, break the bonds of slavery, and so forth.

The level of success and progress in such a matter is directly tied to the country's material and spiritual capability, its level of technological advancement, the availability of raw materials, and the presence of experts and specialists are among the preliminary requirements for accomplishing this task. In view of this, planning to achieve industrial independence in society is a prime responsibility of the government's administrative and leadership officials, and such a responsibility can be adequately fulfilled when the necessary arrangements are made to take such steps organizationally and institutionally.

In our country, this responsibility was given to the Ministry of Heavy Industries three years ago on 22 Farvardin 1361 [11 April 1982] with the enactment of the relevant law. The Ministry of Heavy Industries thus inherited a group of industries which had come into being previously through the collaboration of imperialist countries and Iranian capitalists and with financial and credit support from the Bank of Mines and Industries; these industries followed a policy of eliminating national (domestic) products, the extraction of earnings from domestic sales, and the creation of a technologically dependent economy.

Aside from the necessity of organizing a new industry, one responsibility of the Ministry of Heavy Industries, and its first priority, was to launch and set into motion a great many factories which had been in the Industrial Expansion and Reconstruction Organization.

In view of the shortage of capital resources and the need in this field for industries which essentially require enormous capital investments as well as complex technology, the shortage of skilled manpower, the shortage of cash, and so forth, meeting this priority was itself a difficult task, for which no one was responsible. Another of this ministry's responsibilities was to determine and set the direction these industries must take, in harmony with principles and values of the Islamic revolution.

If we judge fairly and look at the executive aspects of the situation, the Ministry of Heavy Industries has been one of the most successful organizations in the government of the Islamic Republic throughout its three-year life. A look at the published accomplishments, reports, statistics, and balance sheets will verify this.<sup>1</sup>

The active presence of other organizations able to assume the responsibility of procuring needed production machinery, equipment, and other basic capital implements and resources for the country's other economic sectors, is an absolute necessity. Basically, the specialization of labor, especially in industry, needs decentralization. From this point of view, the division of the industrial sector into three ministries may in general be seen as desirable and correct. The reasoning that the division of industry will lead to a lack of coordination betrays a failure to heed the natural process of industrial expansion and development in various societies, and the inevitability of the proliferation of ministerial groups with staff and guidance functions in various industries. Moreover, the causes for lack of coordination are not the division of the industrial sector, but other deficiencies and malfunctions. In other words, what guarantee is there that combining organizations would not create bureaucracy and centralization, or that work would even be coordinated?

There is no argument that manufacturing doors, tires, and radiators is not heavy industry, but one must ask, who is responsible for this? Did the Ministry of Heavy Industries itself do anything to have these placed under its jurisdiction? Or was the law written in such a way that it was either advisable or necessary to include such factories with this ministry?

Here one must expect the respected members of the Majlis to take a deeper and more basic approach to this issue, and just as the Imam has clearly advised, personal considerations and political concerns, which lead to action taken out of self-interest, should not enter into issues of this kind.

The decision to continue or stop the activities of a major industrial sector, the planning for which will have long-term effects, cannot be made, nor can an opinion be given on it, merely with a quick plan done without the benefit of evaluated reports from experts.

Final judgement on such major issues, which have a determining role in the country's economic life, requires the presentation of various documented views and perspectives within the domain of the subject at hand. We stress the necessity that the Ministry of Heavy Industry's three-year report be discussed and studied carefully without any kind of political complications. Its strengths and weaknesses, inevitable factors, and possible malfunctions must be evaluated and codified, and if the relevant laws need amendment, the Majlis must take them into consideration.

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<sup>1</sup>Ministry of Heavy Industries, "Report of the Minister of Heavy Industries to the Majlis: Dey 1363 [22 Dec 1984 – 20 Jan 1985]," and other reports.

In present circumstances, the failure to act quickly in the enactment of a charter for the Ministry of Heavy Industries, with its heavy work load of projects, activities, and contracts, is not in the interest of the Islamic revolution. Experience has shown that the failure to act immediately, and a hesitant approach to such issues has an unjust effect on the morale and efficiency of the concerned personnel, and the efforts and investments which have been made with great sacrifice will be seriously endangered.

9310

CSO: 4640/537

IRAN

JPRS-NEA-85-074  
31 May 1985

BRIEFS

LAND DISTRIBUTION--This year, the committee on land distribution of Gilan Province distributed more than 700 hectares of land among the farmers who had no agricultural land. One of the officials of the land distribution committee of Gilan Province said in an interview with IRNA: In implementing the legislative bill for land distribution among the villagers who have no land in this area, since the beginning of this year, more than 7 hectares of land have been distributed among 823 village families in 132 joint ownership units. This official added: In addition, during the period mentioned, more than 106 hectares of land have been put at the disposal of government departments and revolutionary institutions for various production and industrial projects. In conclusion, among other activities of this committee, the official mentioned the introduction of 1,112 persons for the receipt of agricultural loans; the mapping of 1,606 hectares of land; the leveling of 215 hectares and soil removal on 5,065 square meters of land; the distribution of 423 sets of various agricultural machinery, including tractors, tillers, threshers, and motor pumps; and the digging of 10 km of canals as well as the building of two pools. [Text] [Tehran BURS in Persian 17 Mar 85 pp 1-2] 10,000

CSO: 4640/540

PAKISTAN

INDIAN FEARS OF PAKISTAN AFFECT U.S., REGIONAL POLICIES

Karachi JANG in Urdu 10 Mar 85 pp 3, 14

Article: "Analysis of U.S.-Indian-Pakistani Relations"

Text After the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, India should have gladly supported Pakistan for choosing such a dangerous role for itself. Instead of supporting Pakistan, India drifted away from it still further. Pakistan had taken on itself the role of a buffer state. In simple terms, a buffer state is a relatively smaller and weaker state between two big and powerful states, just as Afghanistan was between Russia and the British Empire during the Tsarist regime. The position of such a state is usually not strong and stable. It always does its best to see that it does not get in the way of either of the big states and maintains its relations with them on an equal footing. Such an extremely cautious foreign policy affects not only its freedom of action but its independence as well.

Pakistan, in calling itself a buffer state, has knowingly or unknowingly placed itself in a precarious position. If not with gratitude, India should at least have looked upon Pakistan's role with sympathy. But actually the opposite was the case. The necessary arrangements made by Pakistan for its defense were actually for the safety and security of the whole region in general and that of India in particular. India objects to each and every step Pakistan considered essential for its interests and defense and looked upon Pakistan's every action as directed against itself. Instead of apprehending and acknowledging the common threat that endangered the security of the entire subcontinent following the Soviet military intervention, India considered Pakistan the biggest danger to itself and continues to do so to this day.

Due to Pakistan's key position, the United States and other Western powers have been calling Pakistan "the frontline state" even though this is not a very suitable or correct title. Such a term is applied specifically to a country that is in a state of military confrontation with its neighbors or is ready for war. Pakistan was called a frontline state because it was in a state of confrontation with the Soviet Union, which is incorrect. At this time, with Soviet soldiers occupying all of Afghanistan, Pakistan cannot be considered totally safe from this threat that Pakistan faces due to the Soviet aggression. This danger is a concrete fact that cannot be denied or overlooked.

The United States in order to deal with the impending disaster should have taken necessary measures to strengthen Pakistan's defensive capability in its own interest. Jimmy Carter's administration immediately announced \$250 million in military aid for Pakistan, which was rejected by President Ziaul Haq, who described it as peanuts. The Reagan administration, which came into power in 1981, announced that it would provide Pakistan with \$3.25 billion in economic and military aid over the next 5 years in the form of a loan. This announcement and the material to be supplied under the Reagan administration's plans, especially the defensive weapons, became a source of contention between India and the United States.

Mrs Gandhi during her lifetime made very possible effort not only to stop the supply of American weapons to Pakistan but also to see Pakistan actually unarmed and left at the mercy of its neighbors, including India, which has all along been dominant. Not a single day passes without predictions being forecast from India. Mrs Gandhi herself repeatedly raised the spectre of a black cloud hanging over the subcontinent and warned her people of the aggressive designs of Pakistan. She raised the Islamic bomb scare and threatened to destroy Pakistan's nuclear installations. In the middle of 1983, when political violence ripped through the interior of Sind, Mrs Gandhi's expressions and tone made it sound as if war was about to start.

In view of these conditions, wasn't Pakistan justified in taking the measures necessary for its defense and at least replacing old and outdated weapons with new and sophisticated ones and maintaining its armed forces at a professional level of strength below which armed forces become a mere crowd of people?

The answer is simple and affirmative, but in the light of Indo-Pakistani relations, the answer, however simple it may be, will be made extremely complicated. The United States for its part did its best to allay India's suspicions and fears, but Mrs Gandhi stuck stubbornly to her position.

Actually India has been the victim of a mental disorder with respect to Pakistan's military strength and cannot tolerate the slightest advance or progress that Pakistan achieves in this area. Pakistan depends on U.S. arms to a great extent for the improvement of its defense and as a result relations between India and the United States are determined mainly by the supply of American arms to Pakistan. Perhaps India does not wish any further damage to Pakistan's integrity because this would endanger its own security. But it would most certainly like to see Pakistan become so weak that it /India/ will have not adversary that can stand as its rival in South Asia. In this geographic area, Pakistan is the only country that can challenge India, and as long as Pakistan remains strong, India's pleasant dreams cannot be translated into reality. This is why India would like to do away with Pakistan's negative role and power once and for all.

There is no other way to explain why India has become a still greater opponent of Pakistan instead of consulting and cooperating with it even after the invasion of northwestern and southwestern areas of South Asia by Soviet forces. India's argument that with the introduction of American weapons into Pakistan, mutual rivalries of the great powers are also entering the region is not very

convincing because the Soviet Union is already present with its army in Afghanistan and has been occupying that country for the last 6 years. The United States has established a central command in the Arabian Sea and has deployed its soldiers as well but has not occupied any country. After Vietnam and more recently the incidents in Lebanon, the United States will not take such extreme steps unless a world war becomes inevitable.

The very thought of what can happen under such extreme conditions is very frightful. Nuclear war is the second phase of a conventional war. Once the big powers become engaged in war, no one can predict what the consequences will be--whether all or half of Asia will be involved in the war. What will be the situation in Europe? No one can answer these questions, but one thing is certain--in a fight between elephants the grass is crushed. In other words, in a war between the superpowers, the smaller states will be crushed and devastated.

Pakistan can certainly be accused of taking sides with the United States. There is no doubt that Pakistan lost much more than it gained in its friendship with the United States. In the past we have experienced the faithlessness of the United States and we have not forgotten it yet. The question that arises is what are the factors that have forced us to side with the United States once again. And the answer undoubtedly is that it was the traditional obstinacy and unsympathetic policy of India, under which only a weak and unarmed Pakistan can be treated as a neighbor.

Had India exhibited a little open-heartedness and acted with farsightedness in assessing Soviet aggression in Afghanistan as a challenge not only to Pakistan but to all of South Asia and the Gulf region, things would have been quite different today. It is quite possible the Soviet Union might have pushed further south in a state of frenzy. But it is also quite probable that in view of joint Indo-Pakistani policy it would have had no alternative but to turn back. No country, however big it may be, can do whatever it pleases anywhere and at any time, even if it has nuclear power. We have seen the fate of the Soviets in Somalia and in Egypt, and similarly we have witnessed the fate of the United States in Iran and Lebanon after Vietnam. Superpowers are as heavy as they are big and a time comes when the land under their feet, if it does not swallow them, does give way.

What concerns the United States most is its own interest. It is not interested in the fate of either India or Pakistan. It has only one supreme goal, which is that the Soviet Union should remain entangled in Afghanistan as it is today and not be able to withdraw easily from that country even if it wanted to and that its economic situation, which is already critical, should worsen still further and its ideological aims and ambitions be damaged as much as possible.

9315  
CSO: 4656/99

PAKISTAN

OSTENSIBLE ALLIES UNLIKELY TO AID PAKISTAN IN WAR WITH USSR

Karachi AMN in Urdu 5 Apr 85 p 2

/Article by Jumma Khan: "The Slogan of Fighting Bravely Was Chanted Over the Afghanistan Issue but It Was Decided Not To Fight Over Kashmir"/

/Text/ General Zia said in an interview with the SUNDAY TELEGRAPH that if Pakistan was threatened militarily by Russia, Pakistan's friends would come to its aid. He said he was sure that the United States, China and Muslim countries would help Pakistan but that Pakistan did not need troops from anyone; if fighting should erupt, Pakistan would stand and fight.

During the 1965 war, too, Gen Ayub Khan was under the illusion that the Kashmir war would remain confined to the disputed area and that if India crossed the international boundaries, not only the United States and China, but Pakistan's other military allies, including Britain, France, Iran and Turkey, would come to Pakistan's aid. But no one made the slightest move. The war lasted not 2 or 3 days but more than 2 weeks; and during all that time not one of our friends sent even a couple of thousand soldiers to help us. The same thing happened during the 1971 war and not one of Pakistan's so-called Western friends shed even a tear over Pakistan's division. President Zia is certain that if Pakistan is threatened with military force, the United States, China and Muslim countries will come to Pakistan's aid. But the question is whether these countries helped us in the past; and if they did help us, what we gained from it. If no one came to our aid in the war with India, which is not an atomic power, who is going to help us in a war with the world's largest military power? The war between Pakistan and India was fought with conventional weapons; neither Pakistan nor India had missiles that hit targets thousands of miles away. But Russia has not only intercontinental missiles but atomic and hydrogen bombs as well.

A country like Iran has been able to obtain missiles that can be fired from Iran to hit Baghdad and create severe loss of life and property. Military experts estimate that these missiles can destroy a target 60 to 80 miles away. Kabul is not so far from Peshawar and Russia has intercontinental missiles that in a matter of minutes can cross a continent and drop atomic bombs on eight different targets. Russian missiles can reach Karachi if fired from Afghanistan or Tashkent; but we do not have any weapons that can target Moscow. Russia and China are at odds, but China is not ready to fight with Russia.

There are major differences over many issues between the United States and Russia, but the United States does not want to come to blows with Russia. But we are saying that we will square our shoulders and fight with Russia. First let us reflect for a moment on all that we lost and all that we gained in our wars with India; then let us consider what the result would be of tangling with a superpower. Would the world regard the suicide of an ideological country justified? America's two small atomic bombs forced Japan to surrender. Now, powerful nuclear bombs exist that can destroy not just two cities but several countries simultaneously.

A basic question is whether Afghanistan is a part of our country. If we have no claims on any part of Afghanistan, why should we be so concerned over the past, present or future of that country? If it is a matter of principle, then tell us what principles you follow regarding Kashmir? Many of our leaders have said that Pakistan would be incomplete without Kashmir. We have fought wars to make Kashmir a part of Pakistan. If we hold principles dear, it would make sense if before everything else we staked the country's future for the sake of Kashmir. But this is not being done, and the adopted policy is to avoid war with India. On the other hand, we are ready to fight a superpower merely for the sake of a country that from the beginning harassed Pakistan and every single one of whose governments lost no opportunity of showing enmity toward Pakistan. Have we forgotten Afghanistan's role in the conference of Islamic leaders held in Lahore? Did Afghanistan stand by Pakistan in the Kashmir war of 1965 or in the war of 1971? Did the people of Afghanistan raise their voices in favor of Pakistan?

What could be more ironic than this: that we call Kashmir Pakistan's jugular vein but we are not ready to go to war to make Kashmir a part of Pakistan nor do we wish to endanger the country's safety for that objective. But for the sake of Afghanistan, which was never a part of Pakistan, was never our friend or ally or shared our views, we are ready to square our shoulders and fight a superpower. Just as we have never seen God but have recognized His presence with our reason, in the same way every sensible man knows what the result would be of a war between Russia and Pakistan. As for China, small Vietnam has been harassing it. The United States ran from Vietnam with its tail between its legs, or rather, with its tail cut off. A few Mojahedin who were willing to die in battle were able to force American troops out of Lebanon. No self-respecting government would have tolerated the treatment to which U.S. Embassy personnel in Iran were subjected; but the United States failed in its military effort to release the hostages. In view of these facts, how can one believe that if we suffer a calamity, the United States will come to our aid from a distance of thousands of miles and by reciting a magic formula save our country from total destruction. Can any Pakistani commander ignore in military matters the views of Pakistan's retired air marshal, Asghar Khan, who said in an interview with the American CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR that in the Afghanistan issue, the United States wanted to make Pakistan the country on the frontline. He asked whether the United States really believed that Pakistan could fight against the Russians or the Afghans or the Indians. He said that without any doubt, Pakistan could not; its capabilities are not so great. The United States did not have the patience to involve itself in a war in that part of the world but it could easily use Pakistan for this purpose. The retired air marshal said that the United States had given Pakistan F-16 planes, which were to generals what toys were to children.

General Zia said in his interview that air assaults could be launched against Pakistan from Afghanistan and expeditions sent in pursuit of the Mujahidin. He said that if war should erupt, Pakistan would stand its ground and fight. He said this in his capacity as the army chief of staff and a military general. But would he like to explain why, when Dhaka was occupied by Indian troops, war against India could not have been continued from West Pakistan and why pressure against India was not increased from these borders? General Zia should not ignore the fact that a friendship pact exists between Russia and India similar to the one between Russia and Afghanistan, which means that in case of war, these three countries will help each other. In other words, even if the war is between Afghanistan and Pakistan, Russia and India are still bound by treaty to come to the aid of Afghanistan. Similarly, if Russia and Afghanistan should jointly fight against Pakistan, India is obligated to help them. Can Pakistan fight against both Russia and India at the same time? This is the point that Asghar Khan stressed in his interview: that we do not have the capability of fighting against the Russians, Indians and Afghans. He was pointing out that a war with any of these three countries would be an invitation to its other two allies to join the war, in which case we would not be able to take on all three countries.

If we should suppose for a moment that the United States, China and the Islamic countries would openly come to Pakistan's aid, would such a war stay limited to one area? If the war should spread, then who would be able to prevent a third world war? Whatever the outcome of such a war between the superpowers fought with the latest weapons, we would be left with destruction and ruin.

I do not merely suspect, I am fully convinced that Israel has hatched a dangerous plot to somehow instigate Russia into destroying Pakistan, the only ideological country in the world, and thus silence forever the most effective voice raised on behalf of the people of Palestine, the oppressed Arabs and Muslims the world over.

9863

CSO: 4656/113

PAKISTAN

ZIA RAISES SPECTRE OF WAR BUT LEAVES PUBLIC IN DARK

Karachi AMN in Urdu 6 Apr 85 p 2

/Article by Jumma Khan: "In View of the Danger of War, an Emergency Session of Parliament Should Be Called"/

/Excerpt/ General Zia gave an interview to the London paper SUNDAY TELEGRAPH and this interview appeared in Pakistani newspapers on 1 April. It was also broadcast in detail by the BBC. President Zia revealed for the first time in this interview that he met recently in Moscow with the Russian leader, Gorbachev. This meeting, which lasted 50 minutes, concerned the Afghanistan problem, and as a result of this talk, General Zia has concluded that the Russians can increase their forces fivefold in Afghanistan to break the back of the Afghan Mujahidin resistance and that Russia will soon be taking important action. Russia also threatened Pakistan with economic and military sanctions and berated it for its alleged interference in Afghanistan. Retaliatory action was also hinted at, including air attacks on Pakistan and hot pursuit in the border areas. General Zia said that if Pakistan was threatened with military force, its friends would come to its aid. He said he was confident that the United States, China and the Muslim countries would help Pakistan but that Pakistan did not want any foreign soldiers. If war should break out, Pakistan would stand its ground and fight.

When a civil war was being fought in East Pakistan and our soldiers were fighting against the Indian Army, the people of West Pakistan were kept ignorant of the situation so that the news of the fall of Dhaka had the effect of a thunderbolt. The news reported by our newspapers and radio was quite different from the news coming over the BBC and Indian radio stations. Our people's patriotic feelings prevented them from giving credence to foreign broadcasts, which they considered to be propaganda. But when they heard that Dhaka was occupied by Indian troops, many cried openly at the breakup of Quad-e Azam's Pakistan.

What is happening in Afghanistan? What topics were discussed with Russian leaders? What will result from Russian threats? All these topics were discussed with the London newspaper SUNDAY TELEGRAPH, but not even the national parliament was informed of these matters, which are directly connected with the people and integrity of Pakistan and its defense. The parliament should have been informed of these matters as should the people, so that their

confidence might be gained. Before discussing other subjects, I would like to draw the attention of the president, the present elected government and the people to a basic fact: namely, that during the terms of office of politicians, Pakistan did not have to fight any wars on its international boundaries; not an inch of Pakistani soil was under occupation and Pakistan lost nothing. But during Gen Ayub Khan's term of office, the 1965 war was fought and during General Yahyah's term the 1971 war was waged. There are many veterans of the 1965 war, and memorials have been erected to the martyrs of that war. Many veterans of the 1971 war are also alive, and one can seem memorials to the martyrs of that war as well. But the major difference between these two wars is that in 1965, by returning the areas that we had conquered, we regained the territories that we had lost. But we lost half of Pakistan in 1971 and have been unable to regain even an inch of that territory. Today, the government of General Zia is in office and he has announced that Russia may launch air attacks on Pakistan and undertake pursuit in the border areas. General Zia's statement in his interview clearly shows that Pakistan is in danger of being attacked by Russia. If this is true and, God forbid, war should be imposed upon Pakistan, internationally noted political and military observers will once again claim that whenever Pakistan is ruled by a general, the country is plunged into war.

During the first 11 years of our national life, the country was ruled by politicians and there was no fighting on our international borders. Then Ayub Khan came into office and within 7 years, Pakistan fought a war with India. After this 1965 war, there was peace for 5 years; but war broke out again in 1971 during the term of office of Ayub Khan's successor Yahah Khan. This war not only broke Pakistan into two pieces but ended the military government as well. General Yahah was succeeded by Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, who remained in office until 1977, and during this time, Pakistan's borders were not in danger. In 1977, General Zia came into office through martial law and, by the grace of God, Pakistan has not had to fight any wars. But General Zia's interview with the SUNDAY TELEGRAPH shows that our borders are in danger and this time we will not be confronting India but a superpower whose military strength is recognized by the United States.

We had to fight on our international borders 18 years after our independence and we fought another war 6 years later. Since then we have enjoyed peace. In the 14 years since then, we have had ordinary border clashes with India in some areas, Afghan planes have violated our air space several times and their bombing has inflicted losses of life and property. General Zia's interview warns of grave danger. Our national integrity, freedom and survival are at stake. I appeal, therefore, to President Zia and Prime Minister Mohammad Khan Janjua to summon an emergency meeting of the parliament. In order to deal effectively with the danger pointed out by General Zia, the people should be entrusted with the facts and effective measures adopted.

9863  
CSO: 4656/113

PAKISTAN

DEMOCRATIC COMPONENTS, FUTURE OF NEW GOVERNMENT ASSESSED

Karachi JANG in Urdu 23 Mar 85 p 3

Article by Irshad Ahmad Haqani: "The Beginning of a New Democratic Experiment"

Excerpt Pakistan has the tendency to go back to one or another form of democratic government after each martial law regime. Our present government has adopted steps that will help it evolve into a fully democratic system. However, the constitutional amendments announced on 2 March were made into law rather hastily. A quick look at these laws clearly indicates that the government is more interested in keeping its share of power rather than giving it up. They have implemented the 1973 constitution in such a way that the parliamentary system is all but incapacitated. The elected officials will have only limited power. Additionally, the elections will be based on a nonparty system. This hinders people in making clearcut decisions about voting since they are not aware of any particular social or economic program that a political party usually supports. Instead, personal and family connections and occupations played an important part in determining political affiliations. Only one political party with a published program took part in these elections. (The defunct Muslim League does not have a program and did not recognize any of its candidates officially. However, it certified some candidates as being supportive of its programs.) One small party failed totally and another did not have as much success as expected. As a result, the kind of assembly members that should have been elected had the political parties participated openly are not to be found in the present legislative bodies. Also, the kind of economic and social changes that the people in Pakistan desire could not be communicated during the elections. In some constituencies, some young men managed to pull a coup and defeat opponents representing established dynasties. This shows the revolutionary mentality of our people in some areas. As a whole, however, this feeling could not surface as there was a very limited choice of candidates. Despite this limited choice (of desirable quality, not quantity), people came out in hordes to vote because they wanted to exercise their right to participate in government. The kind of people elected do not reflect the radicalization felt by people. People are hungry for social and economic justice. Were the elections held on a party basis, the results would have been shockingly different.

This, however, does not mean that persons representing the true desires and wishes of people are nonexistent in the newly elected assemblies. Such persons

are present there and we have high hopes that they will raise their voices against the unjust social and economic system and demolish the present cruel socioeconomic structure. We maintain that people favoring the status quo have succeeded in being elected in large numbers. As a result, our elected legislative bodies do not reflect the people's mood. Since the Senate elections were held at a time when the incumbent senators could easily be influenced, the Senate is even less representative of popular thought and wishes. Various powerful and influential lobbies used their influence to weaken the central legislative body. Many politicians representing various interest groups have succeeded in being elected. All this was expected to an extent, but the dearth of people with revolutionary thought among our elected officials has weakened our parliamentary system.

In the elected assemblies, members are busy establishing political or interest groups. However, as knowledgeable circles are aware, most of these belong to a monopoly group. Rumor has it that every member wants to become prime minister. The race for power and position is on. Of course, some people with principles will stay out of this race, but on the whole, the atmosphere indicates that the 1950 fiasco will be recreated. In that particular political period, principles were sacrificed for personal loyalties. Few people cared about the welfare of the country or the people who lived in it. Selfishness ruled. We pray that this state of affairs does not recur. Our 30 years of experience must have made people smarter and the elected legislators in the Senate and provincial assemblies hopefully are aware of it. The apolitical nature of these elections and the inability of some top politicians to make it to the legislative assemblies scares us. We can't rule out this possibility entirely.

The legislative assemblies elected on a nonparty basis are established. Now the question is what kind of mechanism can be devised to bring harmony to this framework. How will the majority opinion be identified? How will the provincial governments and the central government be able to work together? Proponents of a party system are suggesting the establishment of a group or party of provincial and central legislators and their supporters to establish some kind of discipline or a party-whip system. Political observers, however, believe that any delay in establishing regular political parties will weaken our parliamentary system. Our rulers do not agree with this. They believe that Islam has no place for specific powers for political parties. But they did not make any decision on this issue and left it to the new legislative assemblies. General Zia in a recent interview with newsmen again expressed his opposition to political parties outside these assemblies and the formation of majority and minority groups in legislative assemblies. He did concede to having a "God's party" and a "watchdog party" in the assemblies and two political parties to function outside of the legislative assemblies. He did not clarify the line between the "God's party" (?) and the "watchdog party." Neither did he explain how these two parties will function under the rules of majority and minority groups, but it is clear that he has accepted the evil of political parties in one form or another.

The only way to reduce the number of political parties in our country would be to legally require groups with differing ideologies to merge. This would not necessarily unite such parties. A better way to control the number of

parties would be to use elections as a quality control mechanism. Parties faring poorly in the elections would automatically disappear. The existence of very few political parties in stable democratic countries did not result from some legislation but from the political process itself. Only political parties with deep roots in the masses and those that strive to adapt to change can survive this process. In any case, now that the issue of the establishment of political parties is left to the newly elected assemblies, we hope that they will take the steps necessary to establish a democratic government by supporting a party system. If the National Assembly decides on a party system in its first session, this will pave way for a more defined structure in our assemblies and boost outside political activities. The assembly members then will be able to affiliate with various political parties.

After this, necessary steps must be taken to end the martial law and reinstate the suspended provisions of the constitution. Government officials have declared that martial law will be revoked in a few months, but it is important that a specific date for this action, preferably within a few days, be announced. Popular feelings about this issue can be assumed from Justice Anwar-ul Haq's demand that martial law be revoked by 23 March. The justice is not a political person. Similarly, retired Air Marshal Nur Khan, an incumbent assembly member, has also demanded such action. Several other assembly members are also demanding an end to martial law. Our country's welfare calls for an immediate end to martial law and the reinstatement of constitutional provisions related to basic legal rights. This will weaken the argument that the amendments of 2 March resulting in nonparty elections and a reduction in the power of assemblies and of the prime minister have weakened the democratic system. Once political parties are allowed, martial law is ended, basic rights are reinstated, courts are given additional powers and the possibility of additional amendments to the constitution by the CMLA are eliminated, people will begin to feel that our country is moving toward a democratic system of government. If these steps are not taken, opposition to this new political experiment will continue and the prestige of new assemblies will suffer accordingly. The responsibility of the assembly members is clear. Will they work toward changing this semi-democratic system to a fully democratic system? This depends on the new leadership. We are hopeful that our new leaders will use their political skills and succeed in providing theoretical and practical leadership to our country.

In our opinion, the greatest challenge that our elected leaders in the provincial and national assemblies face is not policy formulation or a political process, but to fulfill the expectations of people for social and economic reform. It is clear that most of our assembly members belong to the privileged class; few belong to the lower class, and the general mood of these legislative bodies will not depend on these few. Before these elections, people believed that money would not play any role in being elected. Our government had decided to stay with the Islamic system and decried the Western democracies where money is important in winning elections. People expected good Muslims from the middle and lower classes to win elections. It is no secret now that this expectation was not met, and the elections were won by those with money. Our observations reveal that some strong-principled persons are also present in our assemblies and we have high regard for them. Unfortunately, they are outnumbered by members backed by landlords and other vested interests. Obviously,

we cannot expect people with such backgrounds to understand the economic and social problems of the masses. Most people find it hard to rise above their selfish needs. Lack of any political affiliation is another disadvantage. They have made some promises to their constituents, but these are not related to social and economic issues. Under the circumstances, it is hard to believe that our newly elected legislators will focus their efforts on the social and economic problems of our country.

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PAKISTAN

MRD LEADERS URGED TO ACCEPT PEOPLE'S VERDICT IN ELECTIONS

Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 1 Apr 85 p 3

[Editorial: "Do Not Create an Ambiguity"]

[Text] Soon after gaining their release, the leaders of the defunct Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD) started influencing the nation with their views, and after a long enforced silence, they are taking full advantage of any opportunity granted to them. All of the pressure that these leaders exert lies in the expression of their views about the recent general elections and the newly formed government, because during this entire process they were deprived of the freedom to express their views. During this period, therefore, the lava of reaction that was accumulating has now flowed over. Those leaders, too, have the right to express their viewpoints. Everyone welcomes the release of the political leaders. It is hoped throughout the nation that the release of all of the political leaders will create a political climate in which these leaders, not only by themselves but also by joining with the administration, will be able to unanimously agree upon a modus operandi to resolve the issues confronting the country. In this way, the administration's reins, too, will be strong, and with the cooperation of the patriotic leaders, it will be able to work peacefully for the betterment of the people. However, in reviewing recent statements issued by certain political leaders of ours, it appears that now that most of the issues have been settled, an effort is being made to start a new confusion. It is possible that this is an unconscious effort. Nevertheless, this form of action is cause for concern, especially the expression of doubts and suspicions about the elections, as to whether they were or were not fair and neutral. Not only did the MRD itself boycott these elections, but it also appealed to the people not to participate in this process. After this decision, however, not one of the leaders of the MRD or its members now has the right to express an opinion on this matter. Even if he does, to avoid public ridicule a joint stand, at least, should be adopted. The strange thing is that if one leader says something, another will contradict it. Sardar Sherbaz Mezari complained that if the MRD and the political parties had participated in the elections, the people seeking their own interest would have never been successful. Personal influences dominated the elections. Along with that, he also said that the people voted in the elections because after a long time they finally sighted some kind of path, so they rushed toward it. As far as the complaint about the victory of interest-seeking individuals is concerned, he could be asked who held the patriotic

people back? Doesn't this mean that by boycotting the elections, the MRD itself granted the interest-seeking people an opportunity to gain ground? If the wrong persons have been elected, doesn't responsibility for this lie on those very individuals who preferred to view the scene from the sidelines? Mezari Sahib himself agrees that after a long time, the people found some kind of path toward the restoration of democracy. The ordinary people perceived this path and they voted. Nevertheless, this path could not be seen by those who claim to show the way. Not only that, but these leaders tried their level best to block that path. Even now they insist that their decision to boycott was correct. Along with that, Sardar Sahib also said that the people did not accept the MRD's decision, and the movement's policy to restore democracy failed. The leadership, therefore, should be changed. Not to express embarrassment over their decision, even after admitting the defeat of their policy, cannot be considered a commendable attitude.

Similarly, another leader of the MRD, Mr Asghar Khan, too, has expressed his doubt and suspicion about the elections and also the people's participation in them. But the national leader of his party, Mr Bashir Ahmad, the leading Imam demonstrating proof of realism, confesses that "the people have made a decision that they want a change." The leaders of the MRD, too, should accept the decision of the people. By keeping in view the future of the country and not their own, they should analyze whether the elections have or have not smoothed the path to the lifting of martial law and the restoration of democracy. In this regard, the proposal of a leader of the MRD itself, Maulana Shah Ahmad Nurani, to his colleagues is reasonable: that after the elections, the political parties should change their strategy because the circumstances and the demands of politics have changed. Mr Asghar Khan, however, is not prepared to accept this fact. What does he want, then? One of his sentences in an interview granted to a newspaper expresses his desire. He said that "if the assembly and the prime minister are granted the powers, this will certainly jolt the struggle and the objectives of the MRD." This manner of thinking clearly indicates that their real objective is the fame of the MRD and not the granting of authority to the elected assembly and the prime minister. If this task is accomplished without any hue and cry, the MRD will totally vanish. That is to say that they do not want somebody else to do a good job.

Expressing his views at a press club in Lahore yesterday, Mr Asghar Khan started another mischief--that religion has no connection with the government and that in the movement for national unity, the demand for the enforcement of the Holy Prophet's system, or the Islamic system, was excluded. In fact, this was the slogan of only one group of the PNA, and during a struggle, all sorts of slogans are shouted. That is why during the campaign for national unity, slogans for the Nizam-e Mustafa were also shouted. In pointing this out, Mr Asghar Khan has once again negated the feelings of the people. He has made that very unfortunate effort of creating an ambiguity, which is becoming a mode of behavior for some people. Regarding the first point that he mentioned about religion and government, we would once again say that Islam is not like other religions, nor is Pakistan like other countries. The separation of church [and state] is totally inconceivable in the religion of Islam, nor is it a mere collection of worshipers or someone's personal views. The foremost duty of the administration of a Muslim country is to mould the entire social order into Islam.

As far as Asghar Khan Sahib's claim is concerned, that in the campaign for national unity the demand for the enforcement of the Nizam-e Mustafa or an Islamic system was not included, may we remind him that when Bhutto Sahib's administration was designed to change, Asghar Khan himself lead the processions of the Nizam-e Mustafa and delivered speeches supporting the Islamic system. Begum Nasim Wali Khan and Wali Khan Sahib himself, also agreed with this demand. Now that this task has been accomplished, they have forgotten all their promises. This means that such people are not loyal to any system, to say nothing of Islam. The Jamiatul Ulema-e Islam (JUI), a group included in the MRD, claims that it made the MRD agree to the demand for the enforcement of an Islamic system. However, this statement of Asghar Khan Sahib has also destroyed the position of such people as Maulana Fazalur Rahman, Nawabzadah Nasrullah and Malik Qasim. These people are also demanding that the 1973 constitution be restored. But they forget that one of the provisions of this constitution is that within a fixed period all laws would be shaped according to the Holy Koran and the practices of the Holy Prophet and that Islam will be the bases of the constitution. These leaders, with such statements, are strengthening the administration's view that the MRD is a gang of anti-Islamic elements. We hope that these political leaders will put an end to actions making the entire nation restless because of their passion for causing a sensation and seeking newspaper headlines.

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PAKISTAN

CORRUPT, DICTATORIAL REGIMES BLAMED FOR MORAL DECAY OF SOCIETY

Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 29 Mar 85 p 3

[Editorial: "What Is Our Ailment?"]

[Text] The prime minister, Mohammad Khan Junejo, has expressed his sorrow over the fact that the roots of corruption in the administrative structure have been greatly strengthened. As a result, a deterioration has taken place in the moral values of the entire society, and people have accepted this corruption and moral degradation as a way of life, because they do not find any way out of it.

This situation described by Mr Junejo is our historic ailment and is a grave challenge to us. If we do not eradicate it, then, despite all of the splendid claims about enforcing Islam, we shall continue to move on the path of moral decline. In fact, any nation that has made progress in the world has done so because of its superior morals, and in the sight of God, the standard of excellence and supremacy of nations is ethics alone. When Muslims possessed dignified and supreme morals, they ruled over the world, and they had begun to lead it. When they became weak ethically and were victims of disgrace, however, the non-Muslim European nations overpowered them. Undoubtedly, these European nations did not possess Islamic morals. Nevertheless, from the standpoint of basic human morals, they were superior to the Muslims, and that is why they dominated the Muslims. This means that the cause of our decline and degradation is our lack of high moral values. But the question is what is the root cause of the thing that makes us immoral and wicked.

Mr Junejo has pointed out that the real fountainhead, which is the national administrative structure, is poisoned. Its nature is such that it creates corruption, which eats our morals like termites. The nature of the country's administration, even today, is similar to the one that existed during the era of the despotic rulers who reigned at the time of our decline. At that time, every ruler and his subordinate, from top to bottom, deemed power and authority as his personal right, and he used it as he wished. The people or the intellectual sector had no right to question those rulers or individuals about their administration. Those people, whether they were kings, governors, estate-owners or ordinary government employees or workers--all of them were a power above the people. They were not at all responsible or answerable to the common people, scholars, intellectuals or those who paid taxes from their

earnings of blood and sweat. The king had the right to build a wall over any living person he liked or have him trodden by an elephant. The rich and the estate-owners themselves were the wrath of God. Merchants, artisans, theologians--none of them had any status before them. If they were offended by someone, that person disappeared without trace. From the supreme to the lowest ruler, rank-wise, the tale of force and oppression continued. No one could utter a cry of pain against that treatment. This was the very situation that made the society ethically barren. Because a society that comprises oppressors and oppressed people who do not fight back against oppression and coercion, is a community, in the sight of God, that has incurred His displeasure and curse. Such was our society, and that is why others gained dominance over us.

The excellence of the European society that marched forward and overpowered the entire world was that from totalitarianism and monarchy it marched toward democracy. In that society, the rich fought against the kings, and under the Magna Carta they acquired basic rights for themselves. This society challenged the authority of the papacy. British rulers who refused to obey the parliament and insisted on maintaining their superiority over them were beheaded. A free judiciary and a free press came into existence. Then came the French revolution, whose manifesto was Hazrat Umar's famous sentence that "God created human beings free, but you have been keeping them as slaves." In other words, Europe diverted its system from dictatorship to democracy, and as they progressed on this path, their ethics gained excellence. The perceptions of nationality, patriotism, knowledge, research and human friendship gained ground among them. The Western dominance over the Asian nations was indebted to these very qualities. Our situation, however, was totally contrary to that. We were granted democracy by Islam. But our history, instead of proceeding further on this path, shows continuous retreat from it. First came harsh kings or kingdoms. After that, thrones for sovereigns were established. Then the empires of Caesar and Kaisers came into existence. Finally, it is the military dictators who are overpowering us. But the impact of this has been that we have been unable to establish an administration that fears God and man, because for the absolute freedom of a particular individual or sector, a conscienceless, hard-hearted and immoral administration alone was needed. This very type of administration destroyed the Muslim governments of the past, and even today, this very administration and its corruption is polluting the fountainheads of our society with poison. Mr Junejo has rightfully felt the need to make the administration responsible and accountable before the people. However, this responsibility and accountability of the administration can only be possible if the parliament and the assemblies are granted superiority, where each and every action of the administration could be accounted for. The courts should not be powerless and helpless, unable to do anything against the administration's excesses. The newspapers should enjoy complete freedom, so that they can forcefully bring to the fore the negligence, corruption and tardiness, as well as the people's complaints against the administration. Without the elements of a complete democratic society, therefore, the administration cannot be made to be responsible and answerable. Dictatorship and administrative corruption are indissolubly linked, and they are inseparable. Therefore, not only Mr Junejo but all of the people concerned, the ordinary

people and the elite, should realize that the root cause of our corrupt administration, and the moral degradation and decline brought about by it, is the authority of the rulers, which is of a dictatorial and absolute nature. This authority should be ended immediately.

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